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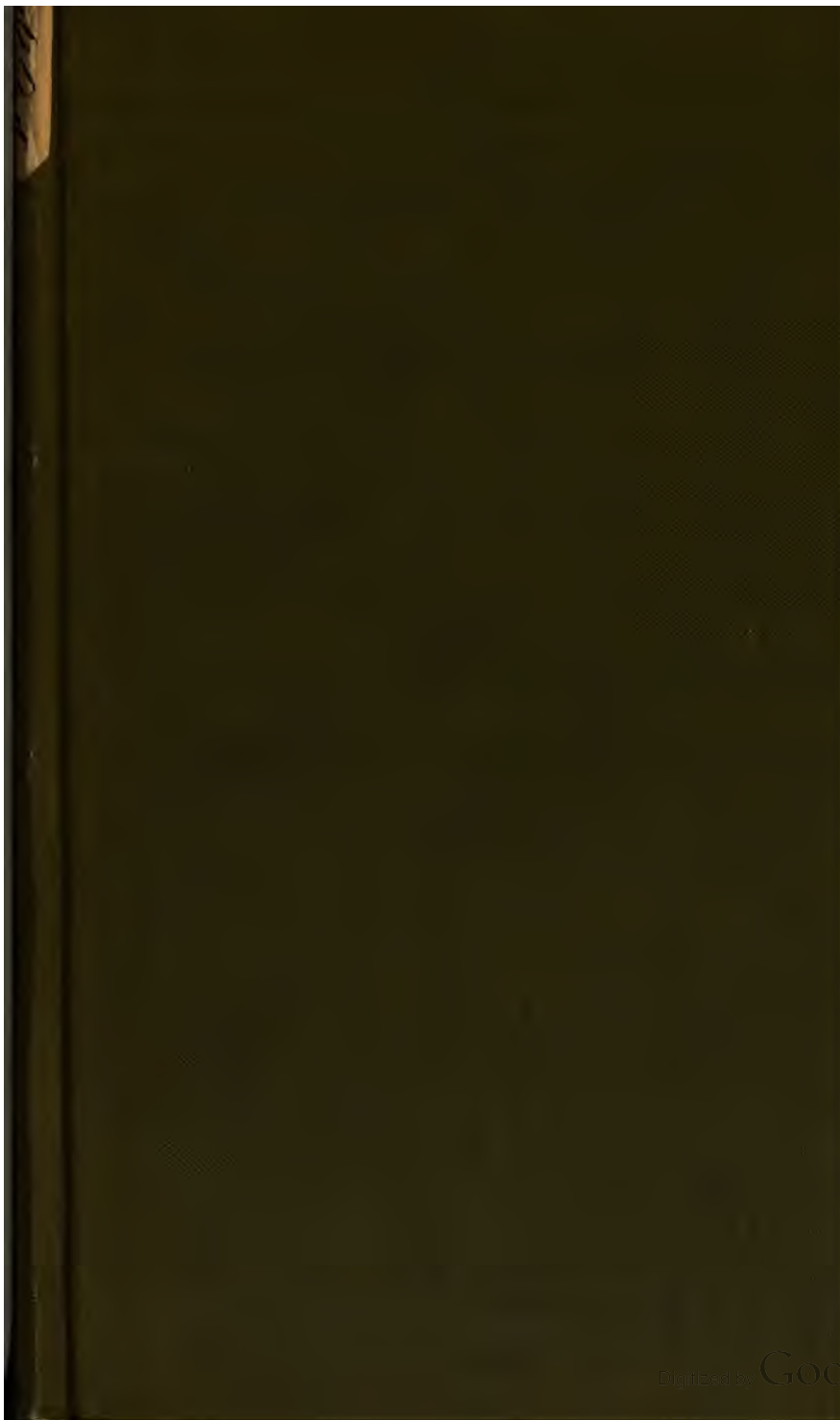
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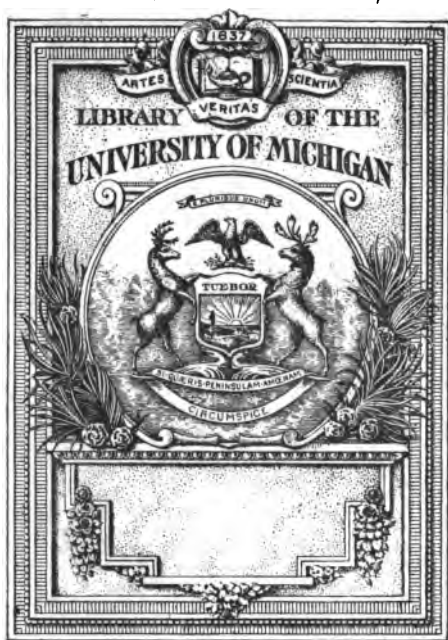
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AND OTHER STUDIES
ON THE
PERVIGILIUM VENERIS**

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**BY
CECIL CLEMENTI, M.A.**

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I

It appears from a passage in the *Adagia* of Desiderius Erasmus (A. D. 1467-1536), the second edition of which was printed at Venice in 1508,¹ that Aldo Manuzio,² his publisher, had recently shown him the MS., found in a very ancient French library, of a *Carmen de Vere*, ascribed by the copyist to Catullus. The fact that Manuzio showed his discovery to Erasmus leads De la Monnoye³ to conjecture that in 1504 Jacopo Sannazaro⁴ had, on his

¹ Erasmi Roterodami Adagiorum Chiliades tres ac Centuriae fere totidem : Ald. Studiosis. S. : Aldus, 1508 [Brit. Mus. No. 684. l. 2]. See folio 94, chilies I, 820, where Erasmus, illustrating the proverb *Amyclas Perdidit Silentium*, writes :—'Meminit de Amyclarum silentio Silius Italicus—*quasque evertere silentia Amyclae*. Meminit et Catullus nisi fallit inscriptio carminis DE VERE, quod nuper nobis Aldus Manutius meus exhibuit, in antiquissima quadam Galliae bibliotheca repertum, *Sic Amyclas, dum tacebant, perdidit silentium*.' The first edition of the *Adagia* was published at Paris in 1500. There is no copy of it at the British Museum, but I have ascertained from Mr. G. Vine, sub-librarian of the John Rylands Library at Manchester, where there is a copy, that the first edition, which is quite a small volume containing only about 800 proverbs, does not include the proverb *Amyclas perdidit silentium*. Presumably, therefore, it was between the years 1500 and 1508 that Manuzio showed the MS. in question to Erasmus.

² The editor of the famous Aldine editions of Greek and Roman classics. He lived A. D. 1449-1515. His original name was Teobaldo Manucei (also written Manuzzi). Erasmus was living at Venice as the guest of Manuzio when he produced in 1508 the second edition of the *Adagia*.

³ *Menagiana*, vol. iii, pp. 12-15 (*vide infra* under the year 1716). The passage in question reads :—'Érasme, au proverbe *Amyclas perdidit silentium*, est le premier qui ait fait mention de cette pièce attribuée, dit-il, à Catulle dans le manuscrit qu'il en vit chez Alde Manuce. Comme c'est dans une ancienne Bibliothèque de France qu'elle avoit été trouvée, j'ai opinion qu'en 1504 Sannazar, à son retour de ce pays-là, pouvoit bien l'en avoir rapportée avec d'autres manuscrits curieux qu'il y avoit découverts, tels que les fragments des Halieutiques d'Ovide, les Cynégétiques de Gratius et de Nemesianus, l'Itinéraire de Rutilius, et peut-être quelques autres.'

⁴ An Italian poet ; A. D. 1458-1580 (or 1582).

return from France, brought with him this MS. as well as certain other curious codices, which he had discovered there, such as the fragments of Ovid's *Halieutica*, the *Cynegetica* of Gratius and Nemesianus, and the *Itinerary* of Rutilius. But all we know for a fact is that Erasmus quotes from the poem in question one line, and one only, in the following form:—

Sic Amyclas, dum tacebant, perdidit silentium.

Neither of the two extant codices of the *Pervigilium Veneris* contains the line in precisely this form: for the *Codex Salmasianus* (hereinafter referred to as S)⁵ reads in its ninety-second line:—

sic amielas cum taceret perdidit silentium,

and the *Codex Thuaneus* (hereinafter referred to as T)⁶ has as its ninety-first line:—

sic amidas cum taceret perdidit silentium.

Either, therefore, Erasmus had before him some MS. other than S or T, or else he himself somewhat arbitrarily altered *cum taceret* into *dum tacebant*, or perhaps, having seen S or T (probably the former as it does not miswrite the name *Amielas*), he quoted the line incorrectly from memory. The fact that the MS., which Erasmus saw, ascribed the poem to Catullus would appear, as the poem is not so ascribed by S or T, to support the theory that the Codex discovered in the ancient French library was neither S nor T, but some other MS. since lost. Against this argument Jo. Christian Wernsdorf⁷ contends that in T the *Epithalamium* of Caius Valerius Catullus Veronensis precedes the *Pervigilium* by a short interval only, and that for this reason Erasmus ascribed the poem to Catullus, although he had before him no other MS. than T. But I find it difficult to believe that so sound a scholar as Erasmus would have attributed the quotation in question to

⁵ For a further account of this MS. see pp. 7-8 *infra*.

⁶ For a further account of this MS. see pp. 6-7 and note 18 *infra*.

⁷ *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. iii, pp. 428-88 and 585-42 (*vide infra* under the year 1782). The passage referred to reads:—'Catulli Veronensis hoc esse Aldus Manutius, Erasmus et Meursius existimarunt, quae opinio inde orta videtur, quod in Pithoei vetustissimo codice non longo intervallo praecedebat Epithalamium C. Val. Catulli. Et quum Aldi Manutii exemplar, quod ille Catullo tribuisse dicitur, in antiquissima Galliae bibliotheca repertum sit, suspicor hoc ex eodem codice, quem postea Pithoeus vidit, descriptum fuisse.'

Catullus, adding *nisi fallit inscriptio carminis*, if the MS. before him had not expressly ascribed the poem to Catullus. Indeed, so far from attributing the poem to Catullus, Erasmus appears to have doubted whether the MS. was not at fault in its ascription of the work to that author. It should also be noted that T reads *amidas cum taceret*, not *Amyclas dum tacebant*, and I cannot think that Erasmus would, without mentioning the fact, have made so considerable an alteration in the text. Still less am I disposed to believe that Erasmus would have trusted to his memory in such a matter. Moreover, the *Pervigilium* is next mentioned in 1545 by Giglio Gregorio Giraldi of Ferrara (A.D. 1479–1552), who says:—‘Aldum Manutium memini dicere, se Catulli poemā habere quod VER inscribitur. Idem et Erasmus fatetur: necdum tamen mihi videre contigit.’⁸ Thus apparently Manuzio as well as Erasmus had noticed that the Codex in question ascribed the poem to Catullus: and neither of these eminent scholars referred to the poem as *Pervigilium Veneris*, which title occurs both in S and T. Erasmus spoke of it as *Carmen de Vere*, and Manuzio described it as *poēma quod VER inscribitur*. It, therefore, seems certain that in their MS. the opening line of the poem was not the refrain, as in S and T, but the line *Uer nouum, uer iam canorum*, &c.; and I would in passing note this as a further confirmation of the conjecture that the refrain should be omitted from the beginning of the poem.⁹ On the whole, therefore, (a) because the penultimate line of the poem as quoted by Erasmus differs from that line as written in S and T; (b) because S and T do not ascribe the poem to Catullus; (c) because the poem in S and T is expressly entitled *Pervigilium Veneris*, which cannot have been the case in the MS. which Erasmus and Manuzio saw; and finally (d) because the poem in S and T begins with the refrain and not with the line *Uer nouum*, &c., I conclude with some confidence that Manuzio and Erasmus had before them a MS. (other than S or T) which has since been lost.

⁸ *Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum Dialogi decem*, quibus scripta et vitae eorum sic exprimuntur, ut ea perdiscere cupientibus, minimum iam laboris esse queat: Lilio Gregorio Gyraldo Ferrariensi auctore: cum indice locupletissimo: Basileae, 1545 [Brit. Mus. No. 1161. b. 2]. See book x, p. 1089.

⁹ At pp. 9–10 of my edition (see the year 1912 *infra*).

Joseph Justus Scaliger¹⁰ is the next scholar who mentions the *Pervigilium*. He suggested, in 1577,¹¹ that the author of the *Carmen de Vere*, referred to by Erasmus, was not C. Val. Catullus Veronensis, but a certain Catullus Urbicarius Mimographus, mentioned by Juvenal and Martial.¹² It was in the same year that Pierre Pithou (Petrus Pithoeus or Pythoeus; A.D. 1539-96) discovered the poem in the *Codex Thuaneus*,¹³ from which he prepared the first printed text of the *Pervigilium Veneris*.¹⁴ This edition was printed towards the close of 1577 in small 4to size (230 × 160 mm.) on two sheets, making four pages in all. On pages 1-3 the *Pervigilium* itself is printed and on page 4 the verses known as *Floridi de qualitate vitae*, which form Nos. 245-52 in Alexander Riese's *Anthologia Latina*.¹⁵ The text is a faithful transcript of the *Codex Thuaneus* (now No. 8071 in the National Library at Paris) and is preceded by the following preface, dated Jan. 1, 1578:—

Lectori.

Qui mos veteribus cum desperatos ante ianuas collocarent, ut vel extremum spiritum redderent terrae, vel possent a transeuntibus forte curari; idem mihi consilium fuit in disponendis huius poematis, sane antiqui, sive Catulli, sive alterius sit, reliquiis; quarum ego salutem commendatam cupio vel Medicorum pueris, dum quâ fide a nobis exhibentur de vetus-

¹⁰ The family name was *della Scala*, or *de l'Escale*: the father Julius Caesar Scaliger lived A. D. 1484-1558 and the son Joseph Justus Scaliger lived A. D. 1540-1609.

¹¹ Iosephi Scaligeri Iul. Caes. fili Castigationes in Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium: Lutetiae, apud Mamertum Patissonium, in officina Rob. Stephani; 1577 [Brit. Mus. No. 1002. b. 5]. At p. 4 Scaliger writes:—'Id tantum dicam: Urbicarium et Mimographum poetam huic nostro cognomine fuisse: cuius meminit Iuvenalis. Et fortasse is fuit auctor carminis DE VERE, ex quo hoc citat Erasmus:—*Sic Amyclas, dum tacebant, perdidit silentium.*'

¹² Juv. *Sat.* viii. 186 and xiii. 111; Martial v. 80. 8.

¹³ So called because on its second folio are inscribed the words 'Iac. Aug. Thuanj', indicating that it once belonged to Jacques Auguste de Thou (A. D. 1558-1617), owner of the famous library, known as *Bibliotheca Thuanea*, at Paris. The *Pervigilium* is written on folio 52 sqq. in this MS., and a facsimile of the pages in question will be found in my edition of the poem.

¹⁴ See *Revue de Philologie* ix, pp. 124-6 (under the year 1885 *infra*). H. Omont was the scholar who rediscovered this *editio princeps* of the poem.

¹⁵ Vol. i (see also under the year 1869 *infra*).

tissimo, sed unico exemplari, eadem, ut par est, ab omnibus tractentur. Kl. Ian. CIOIDLXXVIII.

Pithou sent copies of this booklet to Joseph Justus Scaliger, to Jan van der Does, the Elder (Janus Dousa, pater; A.D. 1545–1604), and to Joest Lips (Justus Lipsius; A.D. 1547–1606). Scaliger returned his copy some time later to Pithou approving a certain number of the conjectured emendations, which Pithou had printed in the margin of his text, and suggesting to him certain others. This copy of the *editio princeps*, with Scaliger's comments, is now bound up in vol. 395 (fols. 68–9) of the 'Collection Dupuy' in the National Library at Paris.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that, at the head of his comments on the text, Scaliger somewhat modified his opinion as to the authorship of the poem, saying:—'Poeta iste floruit post Antoninorum tempora, quod facile ex caractere deprehenditur; et, si verum auguror, post Constantinum; quibus temporibus non temere alio quam trochaico metro scribebant. Non alias crebrior eius metri usus.'

We learn from Achille Estaço (Achilles Statius; A.D. 1524–81) that only three or four copies of Pithou's *editio princeps* were printed.¹⁷ All of them, except the one now preserved at Paris, appear to have been lost. Estaço himself could not procure a printed copy, but obtained in 1578 a transcript for his own use, and this MS. copy, together with the marginal annotations of Estaço, is now preserved as MS. B. 106 in the Vallicellana Library. We do not know what became of the printed copy of the *editio princeps* sent by Pithou to Jan van der Does; but it seems probable that this scholar also

¹⁶ Scaliger wrote to Pithou from Poitiers on June 2, 1578: 'Je ne sai si vous avés reçu la response que je vous feis touchant le *Pervigilium Veneris*. Je la baillai à M^{re} Henri Simon, qui a esté receveur des fortifications'. . . . Also on June 29, 1578, he wrote in a postscript:—'Je vous envoie ce que j'ai cotté sur le *Pervigilium Veneris* et ce que m'en semble, mais ne prenés pas mon avis *tantumcupias* dōfas. Je l'ai faict pour vous obéir'. . . . (Collection Dupuy, vol. 496, fols. 178 and 180).

¹⁷ See *Revue de Philologie* ix, pp. 124–6 (under the year 1885 *infra*). E. Chatelain was the scholar who first drew attention to the MS. of Estaço on the *Pervigilium*. Estaço writes:—'Mons. Pythoeus n'ha fatti stampare 3 o 4 solasse. Non n'ho potuto haver in stampa, ma l'ho trascritto come elle sta.' Estaço must have received this copy early in 1578, for the letter addressed to Pinelli, which follows in the MS., is dated '8 eid. April 1578'.

returned his copy to Pithou with suggested emendations, one of which (that on line 22) has survived. Here T reads *ip iussit mane tuae*, for which Van der Does proposed *ipsa iussit mane ut udae*, a brilliant correction which was accepted by Joest Lips as well as by Pithou.¹⁸

From the copy of the *Pervigilium* which Pithou had sent him, Joest Lips prepared and published at Antwerp in 1580 an elaborate edition of the poem,¹⁹ the first generally accessible to the scholastic world. In his introduction Lips wrote:—‘Carmen vulgabo, quod clarissimus I. C. Petrus Pythoeus munus mihi misit; sed carmen non visum antea, non lectum; et cui merito praefabor, *favete linguis*. Repperit vir doctissimus et diligentissimus harum rerum, in vetusto eoque unico exemplari; et inde qua fide ille transcripsit, eadem inseram his libris; sine fraude quidem; quia ista quasi adoptio, volente amico nostro est, immo iussu. Carmen sic habet—’. Then follows the text faithfully copied from the *editio princeps*. Incidentally we learn from a note of Lips on line 17 that another scholar Janus Lernutius²⁰ had hazarded a conjectural emendation of that line. I cannot, however, find any further contribution to the subject by Lernutius.

Seven years later, in 1587, Pithou himself published at Paris for the scholastic world at large an edition of the *Pervigilium*, based on T, under the heading *Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii*; ²¹ and in the follow-

¹⁸ Lips says:—‘Douza, inquam, legebat—*mane ut udae virgines nubant rosae*: rectissime’; *loc. cit.* in note 19 *infra*; and Pithou comments on this:—‘Placet coniectura: ea Lipsii et Dousae est’; *loc. cit.* in note 21 *infra*.

¹⁹ Iusti Lipsii Electorum Liber I: in quo, praeter censuras, varii prisci ritus: Antverpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, architypographi regii: 1580 [Brit. Mus. No. 590. b. 8]. Chapter v at pp. 85–46 of this work is entitled ‘Carmen poetae veteris non antea visum: de scriptore quaesitum: multa in eo emendata et illustrata’, and contains an introduction, text of the *Pervigilium*, and notes thereon.

²⁰ Lips writes:—‘Lernutius noster, *decadivo pondere*,’ i. e. as an emendation of *de cada pondere* the reading of T in line 17 of the *Pervigilium*. This conjecture is, however, certainly wrong.

²¹ Petronii Arbitri Satyricon: adiecta sunt veterum quorundam poetarum carmina non dissimilis argumenti: ex quibus non nulla emendatius, alia nunc primum eduntur: cum notis doctorum virorum: Lutetiae, apud Mamertum Patissonium, typographum regium: 1587 [Brit. Mus. No. 685. d. 7]. This work contains at pp. 146–9, under the

ing year Jan van der Does, the Younger (Janus Dousa, filius; A.D. 1571-97), edited the poem in connection with his work on Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius. I have been unable to find a copy of the first edition of this book at the British Museum, where there is, however, a copy of the second edition, published in 1592.²² The editions of Van der Does are chiefly notable for the attempt made by him to foist upon the scholastic world, by way of a coarse practical joke, a bogus and obscene *Pervigilium Veneris*, of whose existence in some French library he would have us believe that a noble and learned youth Hieronymus Grostotius Listaeus had informed him, and from which Listaeus had quoted the only four lines which he knew by heart, the first line being the refrain. For the moment scholars were

heading 'Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii', the text of the *Pervigilium* from T and an unsigned preface by Pithou, whose notes on the poem are at pp. 111-16.

²² (a) Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, iam pridem viri docti iudicio castigati et nunc denuo recogniti ac variis lectionibus et notis illustrati a Iano Dousa Filio: accessit Pervigilium Veneris: Lugduni Bat.; ex officina Plantiniana: apud Franciscum Raphelengium; 1592 [Brit. Mus. No. 165. k. 24]. Text of *Pervigilium* at pp. 253-61. (b) Bound in same volume are:—'Iani Dousae Filii in Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium coniectanea et notae, in quibus et aliorum scriptorum loci varii explicantur aut corriguntur. Item Iani Dousae Patris in Propertium paralipomena: Lugd. Batavorum, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium: 1592. This book contains at pp. 142-6 a reprint of the *Electa* I, cap. 5, of Joest Lips: cf. note 19 *supra*; and at pp. 123-4 the younger Dousa himself writes in cap. 15 of his *Coniectanea et Notae in librum Sext. Propertii*:—'Sequitur Pervigilium Veneris, quod colophonem et fastigium imponat his Notis. In quo tantum pauca et levia monebo post accuratissimam castigationem clarissimi Lipsii, quod antequam faciam non abs re videor facturum, si Fragmentum nondum editum ex altero quodam Pervigilio Veneris elegantissimo, sed nimis Latino, hic apponam, quod a nobili ac docto adolescente Hieronymo Grostotio Listaeo integrum aliubi in Gallia extare comperi. Caeterum is hos quatuor tantum versus in memoria habebat, quod nobis recitavit. Eorum intercalare erat primum trochaicum:—

Nemo tentis mentulis det, nemo nervis otium.

Ecce passeres salaces, ecce rauci turtures,

Hac super virente myrto nos amoris admonent

Cum puellis dulce inire vesticontubernium.

Nemo tentis, &c.

Vocem *vesticontubernium* etiam Petronius utitur, et quid agebas, inquit, frater sanctissime? quid *vesticontubernium* facis? Hoc quid sit explicat Epigrammaticus Graecus:—*ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ ὁπώραν κρύψῃ μία τοὺς φιλέοντας | χλαῖνα.*'

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taken in, and several grave and learned comments were written upon the four lines in question, until in 1688 Claude de Saumaise and Pieter Schrijver exposed the fraud.²³

In 1597 Joannes Isacius Pontanus, professor at Harderwijk, in a note on Macrobius vii. 16,²⁴ made a misguided proposal to amend line 3 of the *Pervigilium*. He wrote:—‘*Alterum deinde quod innuo, in Pervigilio Veneris est, et ita editur: Vere concordant amores, vere nubent alites. Emendant, nubunt. At scripsit quisquis ille scriptor, vere pubent alites: idque valet quod dicitur vulgo, vernant. Plautus, Dum aviculæ vernant. Et Arbiter, vernantesque comas tristis abegit hiems. Sententiam vero hanc esse adstruit quoque quod sequitur: Et nemus comam resolvit de maritis imbris. Totum ita expressit Naso:—*

Prataque pubescunt variorum flore colorum,
Indocilique loquax gutture vernat avis.’

The *Pervigilium* is next mentioned in 1599 by Jan de Meurs (Ioannes Meursius; A.D. 1579–1689), who, writing under the heading *Catullus in Pervigilio correctus*,²⁵ urges that the refrain of the poem should really be:—

Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit, quique *amabit*, cras amet.

²³ *Loc. cit.* in note 51 *infra*, at p. 468 Schrijver writes of Dousæ's fraud:—‘Hoc Dousæ ab amico erat communicatum; qui integrum aliubi in Gallia extare asseverabat. Sed mentiebatur: et impositum est nobilissimo atque optimo iuveni. Quid multis? Suppositum est hoc fragmentum: quod cum mihi iamdiu valde suspectum esset, ita in opinione veteri me confirmavit literis suis Cl. Salmasius:—P. S. Cl. S. S. D. . . . Liquet quid sit apud Arbitrum *veste contubernium facere*: pro quo Criticis nostris male feriat placuit unicam monstrosam vocem facere *vesticontubernium*; quam elegantiarum ille arbiter longe a se merito spernat ac respuat. Inde sumpsit auctor fragmenti supposititii,

Cum puellis dulcè inire vesticontubernium.

Quod procusum esse ab eo qui primus prodidit, tam sum certus quam me vivere.’

²⁴ Aur. Theodosii Macrobi V. Cl. et illustris opera Ioh. Isacius Pontanus recensuit: et Saturnaliorum libros MS. ope auxit, ordinavit et castigationes sive notas adiecit: Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1597 [Brit. Mus. No. 1089. f. 17].

²⁵ Ioannis Meursi Exercitationum Criticarum pars secunda, in qua animadversionum miscellarum libri quatuor, quibus scriptores varii castigantur illustranturque, maxime Arnobius et Festus: Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Ludovici Elzevirii; 1599 [Brit. Mus. No. 1089. i. 18]. Meursius says in lib. iii, cap. 14, at p. 143:—‘Versus ille intercalaris est

Few, if any, scholars will be found to agree with this emendation; but it is a curious coincidence that S, which was unknown when Jan de Meurs wrote, reads in the first line (but nowhere else)—

Cras amet qui numquam *amabit* quique amavit cras amet.

A more important contribution to the subject was made in 1606 by Jan van der Wouwer of Hamburg (Johannes Wowerius; A.D. 1574–1612). Commenting on the words *Ros vero nocturnus humor est, quem Serenitas tenuiter spargit* in the treatise of Appuleius *de Mundo*,²⁶ he says:—‘In veteri libro: *quem serenitas sudat*. Quod cum perelegans visum, notare libuit. Ita Fulgentius I. Mytholog.—

Ubi guttas florulentae
Mane rorat purpuræ
Humor algens, cum serenis
Astra sudant noctibus.

Lepidi sane versus, sed deprehensi sub aperto furto, quod data occasione indicabo. Auctor poematij, cui index: Pervigilium Veneris

—ipsa roris lucidi
Noctis aura quæ relinquit, spargit umstis aquas.
Gutta praeceps orbe parvo sustinet casus suos.
In pudorem florulentæ prodiderunt purpuræ:
Humor ille, quem serenis astra rorant noctibus,
Mane virgineas papillas solvit humenti peplo.

in Pervigilio Veneris *Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet*. Quem languere hactenus ex tam doctis et acutis viris nemo sensit, cum tamen non leviter langueat, ita ut lumbifragium abstulisse (Plauti verbis) merito videatur. Quid enim quaeso iubeat illos denuo amare, qui semel amarunt, et habent iam speratam suam sponsam pactam. Fallor, aut scripsit iste Auctor, quicumque tandem, *Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit, cras amet*. Atque haec mihi sedet super eo loco sententia.’

²⁶ L. Apuleii Madaurensis Platonici Opera: Ioan à Wouwer ad veterum librorum fidem recensuit, infinitis locis emendavit, non nullis auxit: ex bibliopolio Frobeniano; 1606. [Brit. Mus. No. 11806. bbbb. 4]. See pp. 649–50. See also Ioan. Wovveri Dies Aestiva sive de Umbra Paegnon: sumptibus Michaelis Heringij; anno 1610 [Brit. Mus. No. 1079. d. 4]: at the end of chap. 24, on p. 112 Wouwer says:—‘Favet enim furtis Veneris Umbra: pavidos alioquin amatores confirmat, et velo involvit’: adding this footnote:—‘Auctor Pervigilii Veneris—*amorum copulatrix inter umbras arborum Implicat gazas virentes de flagello myrteo*.’

Tota oratio elegans et lepida de humore noctis. Rectius autem scribi existimarim: *In sudore florulentae prodierunt purpurae*. Rosas appellat *florulentas purpuras*, easque uidas noctis sudore ait. Manifesta vero Fulgentij imitatio. Non puto illustrius exstare testimonium, quod auctoritatem astruat huic poematio. Et miror sane inter tot eruditos huius carminis interpretes neminem hoc observasse; quos nollem poematis natalem aevo Augusti transcripsisse. Non recipit tam molles et deliciosas elegantias. Sed non flectam ad aliena institutum. In Fulgentio legendum: *Humor algens, quem serenit*. Et in Pervigilio:—*ipsa roris, lucidae Noctis aura, quem relinquit, spargit humentes aquas*. Neque enim assentior corrigenti: *cum relinquit*. Ipsa Dione spargit humorem roris, quem relinquit aura lucidae noctis.

Then follows a curious episode in the bibliography of the *Pervigilium*. Caspar von Barth (Caspar Barthius; A.D. 1587–1658), writing in 1612,²⁷ says:—‘Nacti non longe post sumus et exemplar scriptum Venerii illius Pervigilii, quod omnes elegantia praestantissimum norunt, sub titulo Senecae, ut quidem carie confectae litterae demonstrant . . . Ex bibliotheca etiam Martispirgica exemplar perbonum indeptus sum Boethii de Consolatione . . . cum alio Epistolarum Senecae, non quidem adeo antiquo, sed perbono tamen.’ In the following year²⁸ Von Barth gives further details regarding this MS., of which he says:—‘In eo vero opere iunctim invenimus scripta: Senecae Epistolas in locos Communes redactas. Boethium de Consolatione Philosophiae. Pervigilii Veneris fragmentum sub nomine Senecae.’ He proceeds in the same passage to state that his MS. also contained (a) the Odes of Vespricius Spurinna; (b) ‘dicta sapientium a Thalete Graecorum primo Philosopho ad Priscianum

²⁷ Casp. Barthi ad Cl. Claudiani quae exstant Animadversiones: iusti commentarii praemetium; 1612; being the second volume of a work entitled *Claudi Claudiani poetae praegloriosissimi quae exstant*, Caspar Barthius recensuit et Animadversionum librum adiecit: Hanoviae, in Bibliopolio Willieriano, 1612 [Brit. Mus. No. 1001. b. 9]: at p. 147.

²⁸ Vesprici Spurinnae, poetae veteris, odae quattuor: ex membranis in lucem editae, a Caspare Barthio, cum eiusdem notis: at pp. 157–66 of *Venatici et Bucolici Poetae Latini*, Gratius, Nemesianus, Calpurnius, in Germania hactenus non editi, nunc commentariis luculentis explanati: addita fragmenta Vesprici Spurinnae scriptoris nunquam hactenus publicati: Hanoviae, in Bibliopolio Willieriano, 1618 [Brit. Mus. No. 1001. b. 2]: see p. 158.

ultimum Grammaticum Latinorum'; (c) 'Librum Monachicum . . . de Gestis Alexandri Magni, qui tamen alio atramento et membrana recentiore scriptus A. D. 1424'; (d) other Christian and Gentile songs; (e) 'Vegetium de re militari, antiquissimum exemplar'; and finally (f) 'Leonis Eretiarri ad Manuelem Imperatorem de insomniis Commentarium.' He adds:—'Haec opera, recenti manu in unum fascem compacta Martispurgi in Misniae et Turingiae finibus, inter rudera Bibliothecae disiectae et contemtae invenimus. Vario omnia atramento, variaque aetate scripta.' Finally he remarks²⁹:—'Unum mihi mirum Georgium Fabricium, qui et alias saepe, et tum praecipue cum Poetarum Christianorum Opus publicaret,³⁰ eam Bibliothecam excussit, unde nos ista accepimus, haec Manuscripta Opera situ non vindicasse, cum diligentissimus alioqui Antiquitatis rimator esset. Sed, ut fuit homo minime malus, offendisse ipsum puto Pervigilii Veneri salacitatem, quod eodem opere scriptum esset.' Caspar von Barth, moreover, alludes to three passages in the *Pervigilium*. First, in his note on the words *renascitur annus* in Calpurnius, Eclogue v. 21, he says³¹:—'Vide elegantissimum carmen quod Pervigilium Veneris autumatur'; from which it would appear that the text before him read in line 2 *ver renatus orbis est*, a reading contained neither in T nor S, but proposed by Joest Lips as an emendation. At line 22 of the same Eclogue on the words *Tunc Venus* he notes³²:—'Omnium a. elegantissime auctor delicati illius Pervigilii.' This apparently refers to lines 9–11 of the *Pervigilium*, which commence in T with the words *tunc quiuore de superhuc* and were amended by Jan van der Does, with whom Lips agrees, to read *tunc cruore de superno*, a correction afterwards confirmed by the discovery of S. Lastly in a note on the word *scintillat* in the same passage³³ Von Barth says:—

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 160.

³⁰ Poetarum Veterum Ecclesiasticorum Opera Christiana, et operum reliquiae atque fragmenta: thesaurus catholicae et orthodoxae ecclesiae, et antiquitatis religiosae, ad utilitatem iuventutis scholasticae: collectus, emendatus, digestus, et commentario quoque expositus, diligentia et studio Georgii Fabricii Chemnicensis: cum privilegio Caesareo ad sexennium: Basiliae per Iohannem Oporinum: 1564 [Brit. Mus. No. 655. b. 20]: with a dedicatory epistle dated xiii Cal. Mart. anno a nato Christo, Dei et virginis filio, 1562.

³¹ *Loc. cit.* at note 28, p. 363, commenting on the lines—*Tunc florent siluae, viridisque renascitur annus Tunc Venus et calidi scintillat fervor Amoris*.

³² *Loc. cit.* at note 28, p. 363.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 367.

'Pari elegantia amoris *oculos* in vere agnoscit Pervigilii scriptor.' Now, at line 23, T actually reads *deque amoris oculis*, a palpable error for *oculis*, the reading of S; but Lips retains *oculis* in his text without comment. Further than this, Von Barth quotes no less than ten lines from the *Pervigilium*. He says³⁴:—(a) 'Quam mentem Veneris nomine insignit et nimis mollibus versiculis decantat Auctor Pervigilii Veneris delicatissimi:—

Ipsa venas atque mentem permeante spiritu
Intus occultis gubernat procreatrix viribus,
Perque coelum perque terras perque pontum subditum
Pervium sui tenorem seminali tramite
Imbuit, iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias.'

These lines follow word for word the text of Joest Lips. (b) 'Auctor Pervigilii Veneris; *Imbuit iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias*,'³⁵ thus again quoting line 67. (c) 'Auctor Pervigilii Veneris quod edidit in lucem Iust. Lipsius Electorum I. cap v *Ecce iam super genestas explicant agni latus*. Distinctio hic vulgo mendosa, facilis correctu.'³⁶ Here both MSS. read *explicat aonii latus*, and Barth expressly informs us that he has adopted the emendation suggested by Lips. (d) 'Pervigilii scriptor:—

Cras erit qui primus aether copulavit nuptias,
Ut parens totis crearet vernis annum nubibus,
In sinum maritus imber fluxus almae coniugis
Ut foetus immixtus omnes aleret magno corpore.

Quem in animadversis belle emendabimus.'³⁷ Here again Barth quotes the text of T, as emended by Lips; but in 1624, when writing his *Adversaria*,³⁸ after quoting the same lines in the same form, he adds:—'Qui versus etiamnum mendosi quoque sunt; non huius loci opem poscentes. Hoc monere tamen de universo carmine volumus; scriptum nos exemplar habere ubi Senecae

³⁴ *Loc. cit.* at note 27, p. 241.

³⁵ *Loc. cit.* at note 28, p. 232.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 312.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 187.

³⁸ *Casp. Barthi Adversariorum Commentariorum Libri LX*: Francofurti, typis Wecheliani, apud Danielelem et Davidem Aubrios et Clementem Schleichium: 1624 [Brit. Mus. No. 71. f. 9]: see lib. xvi, cap. 6, at vol. i, p. 832.

adscribitur expresse; et observasse verum fere integrum Fulgentianum, qui extat I. Mythologiarum.' ³⁹ Finally at page 1999 of the *Adversaria* his last word on the subject is:—'Auctor Pervigilii Veneris, nec Catullus, nec Urbicarius, forte Seneca.' ⁴⁰

These remarks of Barth have led some scholars to assume that he had before him a MS., other than T or S, which has since been lost. Doubtless this was so; but I feel confident that the MS. of Barth was only a comparatively modern transcript of the *Pervigilium*, based upon the text of T as emended by Joest Lips, such (for instance) as the transcript which Estaço made for his own use. My reasons for this conclusion are (a) the fact that the lines of the *Pervigilium* quoted, or alluded to, by Barth follow *verbatim* the text of T, as emended by Lips; and (b) that Barth has himself stated that the various component parts of his MS. were written at different dates (one as late as 1424) and in different inks, and had been bound into one volume 'by a recent hand'. As regards the heading in which (it is said) the poem was ascribed to Seneca, I would draw attention to Barth's statements that the words of the title were 'carie confectae': that, in addition to other miscellaneous works, his MS. contained 'Senecae epistolas in Locos Communes redactas': and that, in spite of the superscription, Barth appears to have doubted whether Seneca was the author—in 1624 he will only say that 'perhaps Seneca was the author'. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that in Barth's MS. the *Pervigilium* was immediately preceded by a work of Seneca, to which the copyist appended some such words as *explicit Senecae liber*, and that these words were so mutilated as to appear to be prefixed to the *Pervigilium*, rather than appended to the work of Seneca.

Meanwhile in 1618 Joannes Weitzius had published at Frankfurt an annotated edition of the *Pervigilium Veneris* by itself, and the same scholar published at Leyden in 1618 a further edition of the same work among his *Catalecta Poetarum Veterum*. ⁴¹ Neither of these editions can be found in the

³⁹ This had already been pointed out by Wouwer: see p. 11 *supra*.

⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.* at note 88 *supra*; lib. xliv, cap. 7, at vol. ii, p. 1999.

⁴¹ Wernsdorf, *loc. cit.* in note 7 *supra*, at p. 458 writes:—'Separatim Pervigilium cum notis suis edidit Io. Weitzius, Francof. 1618, in 4. Idem Pervigilium deinceps comparavit inter Catalecta Poetarum veterum, Petronio editionis Frellonianae, Lugd. 1618.'

library of the British Museum,⁴² where there are, however, copies of the editions of the *Pervigilium* published by Georgius Erhardus⁴³ at Frankfurt in 1621⁴⁴ and by Jo. Petrus Lotichius, Med. D., at Frankfurt am Main in 1629.⁴⁵ Hitherto all editions had been based solely upon T; but a new chapter in the history of the poem opens in 1620 with the researches of the famous French scholar, Claude de Saumaise (Claudius Salmasius; A.D. 1588–1658), who then first mentions his intention of editing the *Pervigilium*, saying with reference to line 46:—‘*Sic vigla pro vigilia, unde βίγλαι Graecis barbaris: inde et verbum pervigilare apud auctorem Pervigilii Veneris: De tenente tota nox est pervigilanda canticis.* Ita enim in optimo et vetustissimo libro scriptum reperimus, cuius libri ope, nos propediem illud poema auctius emendatiusque dabimus’.⁴⁶ This MS. is now known as the *Codex Salmasianus* (No. 10318 in the National Library at Paris), the name of Saumaise being written in the margin at the head of the first page, thus—‘Cl; Salmasij √’. A facsimile of

⁴² But see *loc. cit.* at note 51 *infra*, pp. 201–12.

⁴³ Pseudonym of Michael Caspar Lundorp.

⁴⁴ T. Petroni Arbitri Satyricon cum Petroniorum fragmentis nunc iterum limatum et auctum: accesserunt seorsim doctorum annotationes, scholia, observationes, coniecturae, emendationes, notae, variae lectiones, coniectanea, praecidanea, spicilegia, animadversiones, racemationes, symbolae, cum quinque in eadem indicibus locupletissimis: Francofurti, in officina Wecheliana, apud Danielelem et Davidem Aubrios et Clementem Schleichium: 1621 [Brit. Mus. No. 1079. l. 9]. Text of *Pervigilium* at pp. 234–8.

⁴⁵ T. Petroni Arbitri Satyricon, super profligatis Neronianae tempestatis moribus: commentariis, sive excursibus medico-philosophicis, itemque notis universalibus et perpetuis recens adornatum: in quibus difficilima quaeque loca, atque a variis interpretibus partim studio praetermissa, partim nequaquam tentata, adamussim explicantur, illustranturque: editio nova et locupletissima, tam medicis, poetis, quam philosophis, historicis, oratoribus, antiquariis, philologis, criticis ac politicis utilis ac necessaria. Accessit ad mantissam sylloge clariss. aliquot interpretum, quorum in Petronium castigationes huc-usque nondum editae, noviter recensente Io. Petro Lotichio, Med. D., eiusdemque in Academia Rintelana P. P.; Francofurti ad Moenum, typis exscribebat Wolfgangus Hofmannus, sumptibus Lucae Iennisi; 1629 [Brit. Mus. No. 834. k. 5]. Text of *Pervigilium* at pp. 91–3.

⁴⁶ Historiae Augustae Scriptores VI; Aelius Spartianus, Iulius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, Flavius Vopiscus; Claudius Salmasius ex veteribus libris recensuit, et librum adiecit notarum ac emendationum, quibus adiunctae sunt notae ac emendationes Isaaci Casaubon iam antea editae: Parisiis, 1620; cum privilegio regis [Brit. Mus. No. 681. i. 5]. The preface by Saumaise to this book is dated Pr. Id. Aug. 1619. See Part II, p. 308, in the commentary on Trebellius Pollio.

the whole codex ⁴⁶ * has been published in 1908 under the title—'Bibliothèque Nationale: département des manuscrits: Anthologie de Poètes Latins dite de Saumaise: reproduction réduite du manuscrit en onciale, Latin 10818, de la Bibliothèque Nationale; Paris, Imprimerie Berthaud Frères, 81 Rue de Bellefond' [Brit. Mus. Facsimile No. 30]; and a printed edition of the codex was published by Alexander Riese in 1869.⁴⁷ Saumaise tells us that this MS. was given him by Jean Lacurne, bailli d'Arnai le Duc,⁴⁸ probably at some date between 1609 and 1620,⁴⁹ and from it he quotes in 1629 four more lines of the *Pervigilium*.⁵⁰ It was not, however, until 1687 that Saumaise carried out

⁴⁶ * A facsimile of the pages of this codex, on which the *Pervigilium* is written, will be found in my edition of the poem (see the year 1912 *infra*).

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.* in note 15 *supra*.

⁴⁸ Riese at *loc. cit.* in note 15 *supra* quotes from p. 44 of *loc. cit.* in note 46 *supra* the words:—'Ex veteri libro, cuius nobis copiam fecit eruditissimus et ingeniosissimus castissimique iudicii vir Iohannes Lacurnaeus, quem honoris causa nomino.' But I have not succeeded in finding this quotation.

⁴⁹ Riese, *ibidem*, says of the Codex Salmasianus:—'Primo innotuit cum Jean Lacurne, bailli d'Arnai le Duc. Claudio Salmasio codicem dedit, quod ante a. 1609 non potuit fieri, quo anno Salmasius Heidelbergae Diuionem rediit.'

⁵⁰ Claudii Salmasii Plinianae Exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora: item Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistor ex Veteribus Libris emendatus: accesserunt huic editioni De Homonymis Hyles Iatricae Exercitationes antehac ineditae, nec non De Manna et Saccharo: Tomus I: Traiecti ad Rhenum, apud Iohannem van de Water, Iohannem Ribbium, Franciscum Halma et Guilielmum van de Water, Bibliop.; 1689 [Brit. Mus. No. 11852. i. 8]. To this edition is prefixed a letter, dated 'ex Gryniaco, Kal. Martiis, 1629', addressed by Saumaise 'Serenissimae Venetorum Reipublicae': (a) at p. 196. b. B.:—'Auctor *pervigilii veneris* quem Catullum esse nullo iudicio volunt eruditi, cum sit mediae aetatis, et Solino supparis:—

Tum cruore de superno, spumeo Pontus globo
Caerulas inter catervas, inter et bipedes equos
Fecit undantem Dionem de maritis imbribus.

Ita legendus ille locus. *Fecit*, idest, procreavit. Idiotismus illius aevi': (b) at p. 308.

b. F.:—'Et *humorem* pro aqua posuit . . . Et in *pervigilio Veneris*:—

Tunc humore de superno, spumeo Pontus globo,
Fecit undantem Dionem.

Nihil tamen muto': (c) at p. 796. a. B.:—'Expressit *maritum rorem* Solini, quum dixit *permixtione roris* margaritas concipi. Sic *maritus imber* apud auctorem *Pervigilii Veneris*:—

Fecit undantem Dionem de maritis imbribus':

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the intention of editing the *Pervigilium*, expressed by him in 1620. On the 17th Febr., 1637, he wrote as follows from Leyden in a letter to Pieter Schrijver (Petrus Scriverius; A.D. 1576-1660), sending him the codex, now known as *Salmasianus*:—‘Clarissimo viro Scriverio Cl. Salmasius S. D. Recepi tandem hesterno die Codicem scriptum Epigrammatum, in quo Pervigilium. . . Ipsum codicem tibi mitto. Cum ex eo quod volueris excerpseris ut in usum tuum convertas, ad me remittes. Vale et me ama. Lugd. Bat. xvii Februarii C1610CXXXVII.’ Saumaise threw the whole of his commentary on the *Pervigilium* into the body of this letter, of which I have quoted the opening and closing sentences only, and its receipt stimulated Schrijver to write his *Animadversiones in Pervigilium* which were published in 1638, under the heading *Pervigilii Veneris nova editio auctior et emendatior*, as part of the edition of *Dominici Baudii Amores*.⁵¹ At pp. 179-90 of this book is a reprint of the fifth chapter of book i of the *Electa* of Joest Lips;⁵² at pp. 191-8 a reprint entitled *Petri Pythoei notae in Pervigilium Veneris*;⁵³ at p. 199-200 a reprint entitled *Ianus Douza F. : ipso fine notarum in Triumviros Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium*;⁵⁴ at pp. 201-12 a reprint entitled *Excerpta ex notis Iohannis Weitzii Tyrigetae ad Pervigilium Veneris*;⁵⁵ at pp. 425-6 is printed the text of the *Pervigilium*, transcribed from the *codex Salmasianus*; at pp. 427-36 are printed for the first time *Claudii Salmasii animadversiones in Pervigilium Veneris*, being his letter of Feb. 17, 1637, to Schrijver; and finally at pp. 437-68 are printed, also for the first time, *Petri Scriverii animadversiones in Pervigilium Veneris*. This volume was,

(d) at p. 796. a. E.:—‘Vetus poeta in Pervigilio:—

Humor ille quem serenae astra sudant noctibus.

Rorem intelligit. Veteris poetae fragmentum *rorifluam lunam* appellat:—

Quam nos rorifluam sectemur carmine lunam.

Poema illud non rectiore iudicio tribuitur Varroni Atacino quam *Pervigilium Veneris* Catullo. Utriusque carminis auctor non longe fuit ab aetate Solini.’

⁵¹ *Dominici Baudii Amores*, edente Petro Scriverio, inscripti Th. Graswinckelio equiti, Lugduni-Batavorum; apud Franciscos Hegerum et Hackium; 1638 [Brit. Mus. No. 288. l. 1].

⁵² See note 19 *supra*.

⁵³ See note 21 *supra*.

⁵⁴ See note 22 *supra*.

⁵⁵ See note 41 *supra*.

therefore, a compendium of all the most important editions of the poem published down to the year 1638.

From this time forward all students of the poem have been able to consult both extant codices; and it will, I think, be sufficient to record in chronological order the numerous editions of, and treatises upon, the *Pervigilium Veneris* which have been published, and of which copies are to be found in the library of the British Museum or in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

1629. T. Petronii Arbitri Equitis Romani Satyricon, in capita dissectum, cum omnibus omnium interpretum observationibus, notis et commentariis: hactenus sigillatim, nunc tandem sub unum conspectum, ad calcem cuiusque capituli, collocatis. Cum novo insuper et locupletissimo rerum et verborum indice. Accedunt et alia nonnulla Petroniorum fragmenta veterumque poetarum catalecta, Sulpiciaeque vita et satyra. Excudebat Iohannes Mercerius [Bodleian: BB. 24. Art.]. In the second part of this volume at pp. 43-5 is printed the text of the *Pervigilium* under the heading 'Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii', with Pithou's preface, and notes upon two lines, viz. (a) line 46, where Mercerius reads *Detinent, et tota nox est pervigilia canticis*: and (b) line 52, where Mercerius reads *Hybla florum rumpe restes quant' aethnae campus est*.

1644. Anonymi sed antiqui tamen poetae elegans et floridum Carmen de Vere, communiter Pervigilium Veneris inscriptum; quod pessime a librariis acceptum, post summos viros, Aldum, Des. Erasmum, L. Gyraldum, I. I. Scaligerum, P. Pithoeum, Lipsium, Lernutium, Dousam F., Barthium, Is. Pontanum, Wowerium, Weitzium, et novissime Salmasium atque Scriverium, &c. emaculare et notis illustrare, publiceque per aliquot horas vernas praelegendo, penitus restituere satagit Andr. Rivinus Hal. Saxo, Phil. et Med. D., C. P. Caes. et eiusdem artis Professor P. Collegii Principis Salariatatus et Universitatis Lips. p.t. Praepositus Magnus: Lipsiae et Francofurti ad Moenum prostat apud Ioannem Pressium [Brit. Mus. No. 836. g. 34]. It is Rivinus in a note on line 90 of the *Pervigilium* who first mentions the conjecture *nec me Apollo respicit*, made by Thomasius, for *nec me Phoebus respicit*, the reading of both S and T. Rivinus says:—'Sic quidem malim, ut *Apollo* quinta regione exstet, quam *spondaeus* cum *Phoebo*: cuius rei

monitor nobis fuit politissimus et literatissimus iuvenis M. Iac. Thomasius.' This was apparently the only contribution made by Thomasius to the study of the *Pervigilium*.

1649. Europa: Cupid Crucified: Venus' Vigils: with annotations, by Tho. Stanley, Esq., London; printed by W. W. for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Princes Armes in St. Paul's Church-yard [Brit. Mus. No. 1067. k. 15 (2)]. This book contains at pp. 36-47 Stanley's verse translation of the *Pervigilium*—the first in any modern language; at pp. 48-53 Stanley's notes on the *Pervigilium*; and at pp. 51-61 *Excerpta ex notis Lipsii, Pythoei, Dousae, Weitzii, Salmasii et Scriverii in Pervigilium Veneris*.

1651. Anacreon, Bion, Moschus. Kisses by Secundus. Cupid Crucified, by Ausonius. Venus' Vigils, incerto authore: printed in the year 1651 [Brit. Mus. No. 1076. $\frac{a.17}{2}$]. This book, printed without the name of the author or publisher, has been bound up as the second part of 'Poems by Thomas Stanley, Esquire; London, printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Princes Armes in St. Paul's Church-yard; 1652. At pp. 73-8 is Stanley's translation of the *Pervigilium*, and at pp. 155-64 his 'Excitations and notes upon Venus' Vigils'.

1653. Les Poesies de Catulle de Verone: en Latin et en François, de la Traduction de M. D. M. [Michel de Marolles, Abbé de Villeloin]; à Paris, chez Guillaume de Luyne, au Palais, en la Gallerie des Merciers, sous la montée de la Cour des Aydes; avec privilege du Roy [Brit. Mus. No. 11355. aaa. 22]. At pp. 242-56 is the Latin text of the *Pervigilium*, taken from T, with a French prose translation; the refrain, however, is rendered into French verse in eleven different ways. At pp. 374-88 are 'Remarques sur le Pervigilium Veneris attribué à Catulle'.

1654. Titi Petroni, Equitis Romani, Satyricon; et diversorum Poëtarum Lusus in Priapum, cum selectis variorum Commentariis; accedunt Pervigilium Veneris, Ausonii Cento Nuptialis, Cupido Cruci-Affixus, atque alia nonnulla, notis doctorum Virorum inlustrata, accurante Simone Abbes Gabbema: Traiecti ad Rhenum, Typis Gisb. à Zyli, et Theod. ab Ackersdyck [Brit. Mus. No. 1079. l. 10]. This book is in two parts. Part II is entitled

'Priapeia, sive diversorum Poëtarum in Priapum Lusus, illustrati Commentariis variorum; ex Musaeo Simonis Abbes Gabbema' (Simon Abbes Gabbema), and contains at pp. 59-74 the text of the *Pervigilium* with notes from the editions of Lips, Pithou, Saumaise, Schrijver, and Weitz.

1666. Io. Ludov. Praschii (Johann Ludwig Prash), senatoris Ratisbonensis, poematum libellus : accedit Pervigilium Veneris, innominati poetae opus, emendatum et notis auctum : Noribergae, sumtibus Georgii Sigismundi Freysingeri, librarii Ratisbonensis, typis exaravit Wolfgangus Eberhardus Felseckerus [Brit. Mus. No. 2078. (3)].

1669. Titi Petronii Arbitri, equitis Romani, Satyricon, cum fragmento nuper Tragurii reperto : accedunt diversorum Poëtarum Lusus in Priapum, Pervigilium Veneris, Ausonii cento nuptialis, Cupido crucifixus, Epistolae de Cleopatra, et alia nonnulla : omnia commentariis et notis doctorum virorum illustrata : concinnante Michaelae Hadrianide ; Amstelodami, typis Ioannis Blaev. [Brit. Mus. No. 160. k. 22]. The last section of this volume contains at pp. 75-87 the text of the *Pervigilium* with notes thereon, under the title 'Priapeia, sive diversorum Poëtarum in Priapum Lusus ; cum integris Iosephi Scaligeri, Gasparis Scioppi, et Friderici Lindenbrogii, commentariis ; aliorumque notis ; accessit Pervigilium Veneris, Cupido Cruci-Affixus, et alia quae versa p. exhibet.'

1677. Titi Petronii Arbitri, equitis Romani, Satyricon ; cui accedunt diversorum Poëtarum Lusus in Priapum, Errones Venerei, Pervigilium Veneris, Floridi de Qualitate vitae, Epigrammata Valerii Aeditui, Ausonii Cento Nuptialis, Cupido Cruci-Affixus, eiusdem Rosae, Priapismus, Epistolae de Cleopatra, cum Ecloga Tobiae Gutberleth ; cum notis Bourdelotii (Jean Bourdelot, Bishop of Tricca) et glossario Petroniano ; Parisiis, apud Claudium Audinet, viâ Amygdalinâ, sub signo Veritatis Regiae, prope Collegium Grassinaeum [Brit. Mus. No. 245. b. 16]. This book contains at pp. 322-80 the text of the *Pervigilium* with notes thereon.

1680. Catullus, Tibullus et Propertius cum integris commentariis Iosephi Scaligeri, Achil. Statii, M. Ant. Mureti, Iani Dousae patris filii, et aliorum, ex Musaeo Iohannis Georgii Graevii (Johann Georg Graeve, or Greffe ; 1632-1703) ; Traiecti ad Rhenum ; ex officina Rudolphi a Zyll. [Brit.

Mus. No. 160. n. 16, 17]. This book contains in vol. i at pp. 634–8 the text of the *Pervigilium* from T., and in vol. ii (a) at pp. 483–5 a reprint from the *Electa* of Joest Lips, I. 5 (see note 15 *supra*), and (b) at pp. 593–4 a reprint of chapter 15 of ‘Tani Dousae filii in librum Sext. Propertii coniectanea et notae’ (see note 10 *supra*). Graeve appears not to have known of codex S.

1685. C. Valerii Catulli opera, interpretatione et notis illustravit Philippus Silvius T.E.C.P., iussu Christianissimi Regis, in usum Delphini; Parisiis, ex typographia Frederici Leonard Regis, Serenissimi Delphini, et Cleri Gallicani Typographi, viâ Iacobaeâ; cum privilegio regis [Brit. Mus. No. 55. d. 8]. This is an edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius by Philippus Silvius, whose real name appears to be Philippe Dubois, Canon of St. Étienne des Grez. In vol. ii at pp. 777–80 is a reprint of the text of the *Pervigilium* from S with notes thereon by Dubois.

1708. Albii Tibulli, equitis Romani, quae exstant, ad fidem veterum membranarum sedulo castigata: accedunt notae, cum Variar. Lectionum Libello, et terni Indices; quorum primus Omnes Voces Tibullianas complectitur: Amstelaedami, ex officina Wetsteniana [Brit. Mus. No. 883. h. 15]. At p. 221 of this book Jan van Broekhuysen (Janus Broukhusius; 1649–1707), in a comment on Tibullus ii. 1. 62 *Molle gerit tergo lucida vellus ovis*, makes a scholarly and certain correction of line 81 of the *Pervigilium*, and, as his book is not readily procurable, I quote the passage in full:— ‘Est in Albiano versiculo mira concinnitas epithetorum: quam video placuisse inlustrissimo Huetio [Pierre Daniel Huet of Caen; 1630–1721] in illa nobili oda, ad virum incomparabilem Nicolaum Heinsium [Niklaas Heinsius; 1620–81] perscripta:—

*Inde pastorum resonant cicutae,
Lucidum tergo gerit agna vellus,
Explicat longum latus inter altas
Vacca genestas.*

Sed in eo vincitur, quod *agnae* nullum dederit adpositum. Sequentia ex Pervigilio sunt adumbrata, v. 81, *ecce iam super genistas explicant tauri latus*: itemque ex Calpurnio, Eclog. i. 5,

*cernis ut, ecce, pater quas tradidit, Ornite, vaccae
molle sub hirsuta latus explicuere genista?*

Longum autem latus Virgilio debetur Georg. iii. 54 *Tum longo nullus lateri
modus.* Attendat iuventus liberalior, et condiscat imitandi rationem. Sed
in *Pervigilio* (dicam obiter) mendum est. Nam quamvis genistae Maroni
humiles dicantur, tamen eas incubitu suo haud facile premant boves. Sunt
enim virgulto satis firmo ac lentissimo, ut docet Columella iv. 31. Magni
poetae verba sunt Georg. ii. 434

—*salices, humilesque genestae,
Aut illae pecori frondem, aut pastoribus umbras
Sufficiunt, sepemque satis, et pabula melli.*

Salicibus vix esse minores colligas ex ipso huiusdem libri initio, ubi inter
arbores connumerantur, v. 9,

—*Arboribus varia est natura creandis.
Namque aliae, nullis hominum cogentibus, ipsae
Sponte sua veniunt, camposque et flumina late
Curva tenent: ut molle siler, lentaeque genestae,
Populus, et glauca canentia fronde salicta.*

Hinc adducor, ut legendum arbitrer, *ecce iam subter genistas explicant tauri
latus.* Certe iuvat non parum Calpurnius: nec repugnat lex carminis. Ipse
quoque Huetius haud obscure favet.

1712. *Pervigilium Veneris* ex editione Petri Pithoei, cum eius et Iusti
Lipsii notis; itemque ex alio codice antiquo, cum notis Cl. Salmasii et
Pet. Scriverii; accessit ad haec Andr. Rivini commentarius: Hagae Comitum,
apud Henricum Scheurleer [Brit. Mus. No. 1213. l. 17]. This edition is
generally attributed to Jean le Clerc (Johannes Clericus; 1657–1736) and
contains a reprint of the edition published by Rivinus in 1644. It is the
most complete and fullest work on the *Pervigilium* up to that date.

1716. *Menagiana ou les Bons Mots, et remarques critiques, historiques,
morales et d'érudition, de M. Ménage* [Gilles Ménage (Aegidius Menagius),
1613–92], recueillies par ses amis; à Amsterdam, chez Pierre de Coup,
Libraire dans le Kalverstraat, à l'Enseigne de Ciceron: four volumes [Brit.
Mus. Nos. 1088. a. 28, 29]. The first edition of the *Menagiana* was

published in one volume only in 1698 [Brit. Mus. No. 12314. aa. 2]. The second enlarged edition in two volumes was published in 1694-5 [Brit. Mus. Nos. 1088. a. 26, 27]. The third, and further enlarged, edition was published in four volumes in 1716; and the preface to vol. iii says:—‘Les deux nouveaux Volumes du *Menagiana* qu'on donne au Public, sont de l'illustre M. de la Monnoye.’ The first two editions make no mention of the *Pervigilium*; but in the third edition see vol. iii, pp. 8-15, 81, and vol. iv, p. 810.

1722. Poems on Several Occasions: written by Dr. Thomas Parnell, late Archdeacon of Clogher: and published by Mr. Pope: London: printed for B. Lintot, at the *Cross-Keys*, between *Temple Gates* in *Fleet Street* [Brit. Mus. No. 998. k. 24]. This book contains at pp. 49-67 the Latin text and a translation into English verse.

Of uncertain date, but prior to 1728 is the work entitled:—‘*Pervigilium Veneris vulgo Catullo attributum, emendatum et notationibus illustratum ab illustrissimo Abbate de Longuerue*’ (Louis du Four de Longuerue). This book is known to me only through the reprint embodied at pp. 327-42 of the Sanadon edition of 1761 (*vide infra*). It is, however, referred to in the Sanadon edition of 1728.

1728. Traduction d'une ancienne himne sur les Fêtes de Vénus avec des remarques critiques sur la même pièce: à Paris chez de la Roche, Quai des Augustins, à l'Espérance; Cavelier, rue S. Jacques, au Lys d'Or; Robustel, rue S. Jacques, à l'Image S. Jean; Huart l'ainé, rue S. Jacques, près la Fontaine S. Severin, à la Justice; Chaubert, Quai des Augustins, à la Renommée et à la Prudence; avec Privilege du Roy [Brit. Mus. No. 11386. $\frac{a_2}{2}$]. This book contains a French prose translation by Noel Étienne Sanadon of Rouen, a Jesuit priest, and a very arbitrary rearrangement of the Latin text. It is bound at the back of a book entitled:—Q. Horatii Flacci carmina ad suum ordinem ac nitorem revocata studio et operâ N. S. Sanadonis à S. J.; Lutetiae Parisiorum, apud Alexim de la Roche, Gulielmum Cavelier, Claudium Robustel, Petrum-Michaellem Huart, Hugonem Danielelem Chaubert, bibliopolas; 1728; cum privilegio regis.

1737. Poème de Pétrone sur la Guerre Civile entre César et Pompée;

avec Deux Épitres d'Ovide: le tout traduit en vers françois avec des remarques: et des conjectures sur le poème intitulé *Pervigilium Veneris*: à Amsterdam, chez François Changuion [Brit. Mus. No. 76. g. 6]. This book is the work of Jean Bouhier (1678-1746), president at Dijon. His conjectures on the *Pervigilium* cover pp. 165-200, and are remarkable for an attempt to divide the poem into two parts, one of which Bouhier believes to belong to the time of the early Caesars, while the other was (he thinks) composed in the reign of Hadrian. At pp. 201-56 of this book is a reprint of Sanadon's work of 1728 under the title:—'Traduction d'une ancienne hymne sur les fêtes de Vénus avec des remarques critiques sur la même pièce, par le P. Sanadon.'

1738. Lettre de M. le Franc à M. l'abbé Desfontaines sur le *Pervigilium Veneris*: dated June, 1738. This letter is known to me only through the print of it embodied at pp. 343-52 of the Sanadon edition of 1761 (*vide infra*).

1761. Les poésies d'Horace traduites en français avec des remarques et des dissertations critiques par le R. P. Sanadon, de la Compagnie de Jésus: nouvelle édition, revue sur les corrections de l'auteur, rétablie selon l'ordre ancien, et augmentée de quelques pièces: à Amsterdam et à Leipzig: chez Arkstée et Merkus: vol. vii [Brit. Mus. No. 1002. f. 11]. This book contains:—(a) at pp. 185-262 'Traduction d'une ancienne hymne sur les fêtes de Vénus, avec des remarques critiques sur la même pièce' (*vide* 1728 *supra*): (b) at pp. 263-320 'Conjecture sur le même poème par M. le Président Bouhier' (*vide* 1737 *supra*): (c) at pp. 321-6 'Remarques de M. de la Monnoye sur le *Pervigilium Veneris*' (*vide* 1716 *supra*): (d) at pp. 327-42 '*Pervigilium Veneris* vulgo Catullo attributum, emendatum et notationibus illustratum ab illustrissimo Abbate de Longuerne': and (e) at pp. 343-52 'Lettre de M. le Franc à M. l'abbé Desfontaines sur le *Pervigilium Veneris*', dated June, 1738.

1766. *Collectio Pisaurensis omnium poematum, carminum, fragmentorum Latinorum, sive ad Christianos, sive ad Ethnicos, sive ad certos, sive ad incertos poetas, a prima Latinae linguae aetate ad sextum usque Christianum seculum et Longobardorum in Italiam adventum pertinens, ab omnium poetarum libris, collectionibus, lapidibus, codicibus exscripta: Pisauri, ex Amatina [Pasquale Amati] chalcographia: publica auctoritate: vol. iv* [Brit.

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Mus. No. 658. d. 14]. Prefatory note on the *Pervigilium* at pp. xxxv-xxxvi and text at pp. 225-6.

1766. Traduction en prose et en vers d'une ancienne hymne sur les fêtes de Vénus, intitulée *Pervigilium Veneris*: à Londres, et se trouve à Paris, chez Barbou, libraire-imprimeur, rue et vis-à-vis la Grille des Mathurins [Brit. Mus. No. 11888. b. 50 (1)]. The book commences with a dedication to Madame la Comtesse d'Estaing, signed L. D. P.: then follows a preface, the Latin text, translations in French prose and verse, and a commentary. It is believed that the initials L. D. P. stand for Henri Simon Joseph Ansquer de Ponçol.

1772. *De Vitis Philologorum nostra aetate clarissimorum volumen quartum et ultimum*, auctore Theoph. Christoph. Harlesio [Gottlieb Christoph Harless] Culmbacensi; Bremae, impensis Georg. Ludovici Foersteri [Brit. Mus. No. 617. d. 6]. At pp. 70-2 of this book is a short note on the commentaries written by Sanadon, Bouhier, and the Abbé des Fontaines on the *Pervigilium Veneris*.

1773. Anacréon, Sappho, Bion et Moschus, traduction nouvelle en prose, suivie de la Veillée des Fêtes de Vénus, et d'un choix de Pièces de différens Auteurs: par M. M*** C** (Julien Jacques Moutonnet-Clairfons); à Paphos, et se trouve à Paris, chez le Boucher, libraire, Quai des Augustins, à la Prudence [Brit. Mus. No. 75. f. 14]. This book contains at pp. 233-44 a short preface followed by a translation of the *Pervigilium* into French prose, only the refrain being rendered in verse. Moutonnet-Clairfons follows Sanadon's edition.

1774. *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum libri sex, cum appendice; subiicitur Limon, seu Miscellaneorum liber: auctore Guielmo Jones* [Sir William Jones], A.M., Collegii Universitatis in Academia Oxoniensi et Societatum Regionum Londinensis atque Hafniensis, Socio; Londini: e typographæo Richardsoniano; veneunt apud T. Cadell, in vico qui dicitur *The Strand* [Brit. Mus. No. 75. c. 1]. At pp. 267-77 of this book, in chapter xi headed *de Venustate*, Jones makes a comparison between a Turkish poem (author's name not given), which he translates into Latin verse in the *Pervigilium* metre, and the *Pervigilium Veneris* itself.

1778. Fables nouvelles, dédiées à Monseigneur Comte d'Artois, par M. de St. Marcel [Tardieu de Saint-Marcel], l'un de ses Gardes-du-Corps ; à Londres ; et se trouve à Paris, chez Monory, Libraire de S. A. S. Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, vis-à-vis l'ancienne Comédie française [Brit. Mus. No. 687. h. 23]. At pp. 172-81 'Traduction en vers français du Pervigilium Veneris'.

1778. Gedichte von Gottfried August Bürger : Göttingen, gedruckt und in Kommission bei Johann Christian Dieterich [Brit. Mus. No. 11525. b. 12]. At pp. 1-17 'Die Nachtfeier der Venus : nach dem Lateinischen : im Frühjahr 1769'. A paraphrase in German verse.

1779. Almanach des Muses ; à Paris, chez Delalain Libraire rue de la Comédie Française [Brit. Mus. No. 242. b. 15]. At pp. 161-5 'Veillée des Fêtes de Vénus, imitation du Pervigilium Veneris'—a translation in French verse by M. le Chevalier de Langeac.

1782. Poetae Latini Minores : tomus tertius in quo satyrici minores, elegiae et lyrica variorum : curavit Io. Christianus Wernsdorf : Altenburgi : impensis Richter [Brit. Mus. No. 160. k. 12]. At pp. 423-88 'Incerti auctoris, fortasse L. Annaei Flori, Carmen de Vere seu Pervigilium Veneris, e codice antiquo Cl. Salmasii et recensione Pet. Scriverii, denuo castigatum et perpetua annotatione illustratum' : also at pp. 585-42 an 'ἐπίμετρον ad Pervigilium Veneris'.

1782. Idylles et Poèmes champêtres par M. Léonard [Nicolas Germain Léonard] ; à la Haye, et se trouve à Paris, chez Desenne, Libraire, au Palais Royal, Passage de Richelieu [Brit. Mus. No. 11475. e. 1]. At pp. 120-4 'La Veillée de Vénus'—a paraphrase of the *Pervigilium* in French verse.

1783. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius cum Galli fragmentis et Pervigilio Veneris : praemittitur notitia literaria : studiis Societatis Bipontinae : editio accurata : Biponti ex typographia societatis. [Brit. Mus. No. 1002. i. 2]. Prefatory note on the *Pervigilium* at pp. xxxvi-xxxvii and text at pp. 851-4.

1787. Œuvres de M. Léonard : quatrième édition : à Paris, chez Prault, imprimeur du Roi, quai des Augustins, à l'Immortalité ; avec approbation et privilège du Roi [Brit. Mus. No. 11474. aaa. 3]. At vol. i, pp. 158-62, is a reprint of 'La Veillée de Vénus', much abridged from the 1782 edition.

1792. La Veillée des Fêtes de Vénus ; traduite en prose et vers français,

par M. Rabany-Beauregard, associé-correspondant des Philaethes de Lille et employé à la Bibliothèque du Roi: à Paris de l'imprimerie de H. J. Jansen, Cloître Saint-Honoré [Brit. Mus. No. 11888. b. 50 (2)]. A preface, text of the *Pervigilium*, translation in French verse, and commentary. Bound at the back of the British Museum copy are several MS. verse translations (*vide infra*).

1794. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius cum Galli fragmentis et Pervigilio Veneris: praemittitur notitia literaria: studiis societatis Bipontinae: editio secunda: Biponti: ex typographia societatis [Brit. Mus. No. 160. f. 12]. Prefatory note on the *Pervigilium* at pp. 84-5 and text at pp. 807-10. See also the 1788 edition.

1798. 'Catullus translated in English verse': pp. 188-207 an English verse translation of the *Pervigilium*. Known to me only through the MS. copy bound at the back of Rabany-Beauregard's edition in the British Museum (cf. 1792 *supra*).

1803. Traduction complète des Poésies de Catulle, suivie des Poésies de Gallus et de la Veillée des Fêtes de Vénus; avec des notes grammaticales, critiques, littéraires, historiques et mythologiques, les Parodies des Poètes Latins modernes, et les meilleures Imitations des Poètes Français: par François Noel, membre de l'Athénée de Lyon, et Auteur du Dictionnaire de la Fable: de l'imprimerie de Crapelet: à Paris: chez Leger, libraire, quai des Augustins N° 44; et chez Remont, libraire, même quai N° 41 [Brit. Mus. No. 77. a. 20]. Vol. i at pp. 279-99 and 323-66. The book contains at pp. 349-59 a translation of the *Pervigilium* into French verse, under the heading:—'La Veillée de Vénus: imitation libre du *Pervigilium Veneris*, faite en grande partie sur la traduction que Parnell a donnée de ce petit ouvrage en vers anglais' (*vide* 1722 *supra*).

1810. Les Martyrs, ou le Triomphe de la Religion Chrétienne; par F. R. de Chateaubriand [François René Vicomte de Chateaubriand: A. D. 1768-1848]; Troisième Edition, précédée d'un examen, avec des remarques sur chaque livre, et des fragmens du voyage de l'auteur en Grèce et à Jérusalem: Paris, le Normant, imprimeur-libraire: Lyon, Ballanche, père et fils, libraires [Brit. Mus. No. 1122. f. 17]. See vol. iii, pp. 92-4, i.e. Livre XVII 'Navigation de Cymodocée'—a prose paraphrase of a portion of the *Pervigilium*.

The first edition of *Les Martyrs* was published in 1809 in two volumes, but there is no copy of it at the British Museum.

1812. A translation of the *Pervigilium* into French verse by Charles Louis Mollevaut. Known to me only through the MS. copy bound at the back of Rabany-Beauregard's edition in the British Museum (cf. 1792 *supra*).

1819. *Nomina virorum eruditione ac meritis excellentium quos inter quarta academiae secularia summis in philosophia ornamentis ac privilegiis honoris causa augebit ordo philosophorum Rostochiensis indicantur a Gustavo Sarpe, philosophiae doctore, artium liberalium magistro, Graecae litteraturae professore, publico ordinario, H. T. Ordinis philos. decano: praemissae sunt quaestiones philologicae: Rostochii, litteris Adlerianis [Bodleian Diss. N. 180].* At p. 86 of the *quaestiones philologicae*, Sarpe propounds the strange theory that Thomas Seneca Camers wrote the *Pervigilium* at the beginning of the fifteenth century A. D.

1820. *Litterarische Analekten vorzüglich für alte Litteratur und Kunst, deren Geschichte und Methodik: herausgegeben von Fried. Aug. Wolf: Berlin, bei G. C. Nauck [Brit. Mus. No. 254. k. 20].* This book is in four parts and two vols.; and contains in part IV, vol. ii, pp. 558-65, a German verse translation of the *Pervigilium*, signed 'C. K.' (Carl Kirchner).

1823. *Selecta e Poetis Latinis Carmina ad initiandos Poesi Romana tironum animos: collegit, recensuit, praefatus est Fridericus Lindemann; Lipsiae, sumptibus I. C. Hinrichsii [Brit. Mus. No. 11835. f. 29].* In part II at pp. 83-5 the text of the *Pervigilium Veneris*.

1824. *Poetae Latini Minores: satirica, elegiaca, lyrica, et alia quaedam carmina, quae notis veteribus ac novis illustravit N. E. Lemaire: Volumen secundum: Parisiis: colligebat Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire (Nicolas Eloi Lemaire), poeseos Latinae professor [Brit. Mus. No. 11805. m. 5].* This book contains at pp. 477-536 'Incerti auctoris, fortasse L. Annaei Flori, Carmen de Vere seu Pervigilium Veneris, e codice antiquo Cl. Salmasii et recensione Pet. Scriverii, denuo castigatum et perpetua adnotatione illustratum', i.e. a reprint of Wernsdorf's edition (*vide* 1782 *supra*).

1828. *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik: eine kritische Zeitschrift, in Verbindung mit einem Verein von Gelehrten, herausgegeben von M. Joh.*

Christ. Jahn : Leipzig : Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner : vol. viii [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 4985]. At pp. 200-4 'Beiträge zu einer neuen Bearbeitung der Anthologia Latina' by Julius Sillig.

1828. Allgemeine Schulzeitung : ein Archiv für die Wissenschaft des gesammten Schul-, Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens und die Geschichte der Universitäten, Gymnasien, Volksschulen und aller höheren und niederen Lehranstalten : herausgegeben von Ernst Zimmermann, Doctor der Theologie und Hofprediger in Darmstadt : Darmstadt, Druck und Verlag von Karl Wilhelm Leske : vol. v [Brit. Mus. No. PP. 1200. af]. Part II at pp. 959-60 'Philologische Analekten' by Fr. Osann.

1831. Phaedri Aug. Liberti Fabulae Aesopiae : prima editio critica cum integra varietate codd. Pithoeani, Remensis, Danielini, Perottini, et editionis principis, reliqua vero selecta : accedunt Caesaris Germanici Aratea ex fide codd. Basil. Bern. Einsiedl. Freiberg. ed. principis emendata et suppleta : Pervigilium Veneris ad codd. Salmas. et Pith. exactum ab Io. Casp. Orellio ; Turici, typis Orellii, Fuesslini et sociorum. See pp. 213-39. There is no copy of this book in the British Museum, but there is one in the London Library, St. James' Square.

1832. Phaedri Aug. Liberti Fabulae Aesopiae : prima ed. critica cum integra varietate codd. Pithoeani, Remensis, Danielini, Perottini, et editionis principis, reliqua vero selecta : accedunt Caesaris Germanici Aratea ex fide codd. Basil. Bern. Einsiedl. Freiberg. Ed. Venetae 1488 emendata et suppleta, Pervigilium Veneris ad codd. Salmas. et Pith. exactum ab Io. Casp. Orellio : editio altera aucta Phaedri fabulis novis ab Angelo Maio redintegratis et Publī Syri sententiis XXX. Turici repertis ; Turici, typis Orellii, Fuesslini et sociorum [Brit. Mus. No. 2045. e]. At pp. 213-39 : a reprint, so far as concerns the *Pervigilium* of Orelli's first edition in the preceding year.

1833. Corpus Poetarum Latinorum : uno volumine absolutum : cum selecta varietate lectionis et explicatione brevissima, edidit Guilielmus Ernestus Weber, philosophiae doctor, Lycei Bremensis director atque professor : Francofurti ad Moenum, sumptibus et typis Henrici Ludovici Broenneri [Brit. Mus. No. 11352. e. 15]. At p. lxxix and pp. 1414-15.

1842. De carmine Latino quod Pervigilium Veneris inscribitur : scripsit

Dr. Gust. Henr. Heidtmann : *Gryphiae*, typis Frid. Guil. Kunike, Reg. Acad. typogr. [Brit. Mus. No. 11812. c. 43. (4)].

1842. *Poetae Minores* : Paris : C. L. F. Panckoucke, éditeur, officier de l'ordre royal de la légion d'honneur : Rue des Poitevins, 14 [Brit. Mus. No. 11806. k. 31]. At pp. 808-22 'Veille en l'honneur de Vénus, traduction nouvelle par M. Cabaret-Dupaty, professeur d'université'—preface, text, French prose translation, and notes.

1843. Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, No. 382 : June 1843 : Vol. 58 : Edinburgh, William Blackwood & Sons, 45 George Street, and 22 Pall Mall, London [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 6202]. At pp. 715-17 'The Vigil of Venus', a verse translation with a short prefatory note published anonymously ; but afterwards in 1882 (q.v.) acknowledged by C. G. Prowett.

1850. *Collection des Auteurs Latins avec la traduction en français*, publiée sous la direction de M. Nisard, professeur d'éloquence latine au Collège de France ; Paris, J. J. Dubochet, le Chevalier et Comp., éditeurs, rue Richelieu No. 60 ; Garnier Frères, libraires, Palais-National 215 et Rue Richelieu 10 [Brit. Mus. No. 11806. m. 4]. Vol. iv at pp. 605-8 'Le Poème du Printemps, vulgairement appelé la Fête de Vénus' : text divided in distichs as by Sanadon, and French prose translation.

1852. *Pervigilium Veneris pristino nitori restitutum* : prostat Lipsiae apud Vitelmum Engelmannum [Brit. Mus. No. 11875. f. 85]. Contains preface, text, and commentary ; anonymous.

1854. *Erotica* : the poems of Catullus and Tibullus and the Vigil of Venus : a literal prose translation with notes by Walter K. Kelly ; to which are added the metrical versions of Lamb and Grainger and a selection of versions by other writers ; London : Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden [Brit. Mus. No. 2500. e. 16]. Prose translation and notes by Kelly at pp. 100-4 : verse translations by T. Parnell at pp. 298-7 (*vide* 1722 *supra*), and by T. Stanley at pp. 297-302 (*vide* 1649 *supra*).

1854. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* : herausgegeben von F. G. Welcker und F. Ritschl : Frankfurt am Main : F. D. Sauerländer's Verlag [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 4981]. Vol. x at pp. 195-218 an article by Dr. J. Frei criticizing the anonymous edition of the *Pervigilium* published at Leipzig in 1852 (*vide supra*).

1855. De P. Annio Floro Poeta et carmine quod Pervigilium Veneris inscriptum est : dissertatio inauguralis quam consensu et auctoritate amplissimi philosophorum ordinis in alma litterarum universitate Friderica Guilelma ad summos in philosophia honores rite capessendos die xvi M. Iunii A. 1855 H. L. Q. S. publice defendet auctor Otto Mueller, Regiomontanus ; Berolini, typis Gustavi Schade [Brit. Mus. No. 11375. aaa. 13].

1858. De Ephymniorum apud Graecos et Romanos rationibus. Dissertatio philologica, quam consensu et auctoritate amplissimi philosophorum ordinis in alma litterarum academia Georgia Augusta ut summi in philosophia honores sibi concedantur scripsit Franciscus Casparus Goebbel (Franz Caspar Göbbel), Guestphalus ; Gottingae, typis expressit officina academica Huthiana ; viii Cal. Febr. 1858 [Brit. Mus. No. 11335. f. 20]. At pp. 56-61 of this book Göbbel attempts to rearrange the *Pervigilium* strophically.

1859. Pervigilium Veneris, adnotabat et emendabat Franciscus Bücheler ; Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri [Brit. Mus. No. 11885. a. 28].

1859. Rheinisches Museum, &c. (*vide* 1854 *supra*). Vol. xiv at pp. 324-5 'Zum Pervigilium Veneris', by O. Ribbeck.

1860. Ibidem : vol. xv at pp. 445-51 'Coniectanea critica' by Franciscus Bücheler.

1860. Griechische Götterlehre von Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker : Göttingen, Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung [Brit. Mus. No. 4505. eee. 33]. Vol. ii at pp. 222-4 Welcker argues in favour of Bücheler's emendation *vere natus est iouis* in line 2 of the *Pervigilium*.

1861. Jahrbücher für classische Philologie : herausgegeben von Alfred Fleckeisen : Leipzig, Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 4985]. Vol. 83 at pp. 639-58 'Zur Litteratur des Pervigilium Veneris' by Lucian Müller : a criticism of the edition of F. Bücheler (Leipzig, 1859) and Th. Bergk (Halle, 1859).⁵⁶

1863. Philologus : Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum : herausgegeben von Ernst von Leutsch : Göttingen : Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 5048]. Vol. xix at pp. 721-2 'Zum Pervigilium Veneris' by H. H. Koch.

⁵⁶ There is no copy of Bergk's edition in the British Museum.

1864. The Poetry of Catullus, to which is added the Vigil of Venus, rendered into English by Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A., late scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge : Leeds ; J. Smith, Commercial Street ; Longmans & Co., London ; Macmillan & Co., Cambridge. At pp. 43-5 is a verse translation of the *Pervigilium*. There is a copy of this book in the London Library, but not in the British Museum.

1865. Philologus, &c. (*vide* 1863 *supra*) : Vol. xxiii at pp. 356-61 'Pervigilium Veneris' by J. Mähly.

1867. Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien : verantwortliche Redacteure J. G. Seidl, H. Bonitz, F. Hohegger : Wien, Druck und Verlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn [Brit. Mus. No. PP. 1204. b]. Vol. xviii, pp. 238-43 'Zur Kritik des Pervigilium Veneris' by Karl Schenkl.

1869. Anthologia Latina, sive Poesis Latinae Supplementum : pars prior : Carmina in Codicibus Scripta, recensuit Alexander Riese ; fasciculus I : libri Salmasiani aliorumque carmina ; Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri [Brit. Mus. No. 11340. cc. 10]. Vol. i at pp. 144-8, text and apparatus criticus of the *Pervigilium*.

1872. Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, &c. (*vide* 1861 *supra*) : vol. 105, pp. 55-6 'Kritische Satura' by Emil Bährens.

1872. Ibidem : vol. 105, p. 494 'Zum Pervigilium Veneris' by 'G. F.'

1878. Ibidem : vol. 107, pp. 66-7 'Kritische Satura' by Emil Bährens.

1874. Temple Bar, a London Magazine for Town and Country Readers : vol. 40 : March, 1874 : London, Richard Bentley & Son, 8 New Burlington Street : New York, Willmer and Rogers [Brit. Mus. No. PP. 6004. gm]. At pp. 495-8 'The Pervigilium Veneris (The Wake of Venus)', an English verse translation by 'E. H.'

1876. Rheinisches Museum, &c. (*vide* 1854 *supra*). Vol. xxxi, pp. 101-2 'Zur lateinischen Anthologie' by Emil Bährens.

1877. Unedirte Lateinische Gedichte, von Emil Bährens ; Leipzig, Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner [Bodleian 297. e. 82]. At pp. 39-45 text of *Pervigilium* and commentary thereon.

E

1878. Poesie di Giosuè Carducci (Enotrio Romano); terza edizione,⁸⁷ precedute da una biografia del poeta; volume unico; Firenze; G. Barbèra, Editore [Brit. Mus. No. 11429. d. 33]. At pp. 148-52 stanzas 14 sqq. of the 'Canto di Primavera' are based on the *Pervigilium*.

1882. Poetae Latini Minores, recensuit et emendavit Aemilius Bæhrens (Emil Bährens); Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri [Brit. Mus. No. 2049. b. 3]. Vol. iv at p. 48 prefatory note, and at pp. 292-7 text of *Pervigilium* and apparatus criticus.

1882. Translations and Original Pieces by the late Charles Gipps Prowett, M.A., formerly Fellow and Lecturer of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; edited by C. H. Monro, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge: Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co.: London, G. Bell & Sons [Bodleian 280. o. 776]. At pp. 239-54 a reprint of the verse translation, first published in 1843 (q.v.), with a short prefatory note.

1885. Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Ancienne: nouvelle série continuée sous la direction de O. Riemann et Ém. Chatelain: Paris, C. Klincksieck, Libraire de l'Institut de France, 11 Rue de Lille [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 5042]. Vol. ix at pp. 124-6 'Conjectures de Joseph Scaliger sur le Pervigilium Veneris' by H. Omont, and 'Conjectures d'Achilles Statius sur le Pervigilium Veneris' by E. Chatelain.

1885. Marius the Epicurean, his sensations and ideas: by Walter Pater, Fellow of Brasenose College; London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; New York, the Macmillan Co. [Brit. Mus. No. 12619. u. 1]. Vol. i, chapters 6 and 7: see especially pp. 73-85.

1888. The Journal of Philology, edited by W. Aldis Wright, M.A., Ingram Bywater, M.A., and Henry Jackson, Litt.D.; London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co.: Deighton, Bell & Co., Cambridge [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 4970. c]. Vol. xvii, pp. 179-91 'The Pervigilium Veneris' by J. W. Mackail.

1889. Studio critico intorno al Pervigilium Veneris con versione di

⁸⁷ The first edition was, I believe, published at Florence by Barbèra in 1871; but there is no copy in the British Museum.

Anton Giulio Barrili⁵⁸ e di Giosuè Carducci [*vide* 1878 *supra*] per Giuseppe Piazza : Trani, Tipografia dell' editore V. Vecchi E.C. ; Maggio [Brit. Mus. No. 11312. q. 4 (2)].

1891. 'Love Lies Bleeding': Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, Broad Street [Brit. Mus. No. 11653. a. 90]. Contains at pp. 74-88 'The Vigil Hymn of Venus', a translation of the *Pervigilium* into English verse: author anonymous.

1893. Catullus, with the *Pervigilium Veneris*, edited by S. G. Owen ; illustrated by J. R. Weguelin : London : Lawrence and Bullen, 16 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden [Brit. Mus. No. K. T. C. 15. a. 4].

1894. *Pervigilium Veneris* (Veille en l'honneur de Vénus), traduit en vers français par Raoul Lajoye : Paris, A. Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, éditeurs, libraires de la cour d'appel et de l'ordre des avocats : G. Pedone-Lauriel, successeur, 13 Rue Soufflot [Brit. Mus. No. 11385. $\frac{bb}{8}$. 33].

1902. The Bibelot : a reprint of Poetry and Prose for book lovers, chosen in part from scarce editions and sources not generally known : printed for Thomas B. Mosher and published by him at 45 Exchange Street, Portland, Maine : vol. viii, No. 4 ; April, 1902. Contains Latin text and four verse translations of the *Pervigilium*, viz. (1) Stanley's, 1651 ; (2) Parnell's, 1720 ; (3) Prowett's, 1843 ; (4) Hayward's, 1901.

1905. The Classical Review : Vol. 19 : London, David Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre [Brit. Mus. RPP. No. 2048. h.]. (a) At pp. 224-5 'De auctore carminis *Pervigilium Veneris* inscripti' by L. Raquetius : and (b) at p. 304 'On the *Pervigilium Veneris*' by J. B. Bury.

1907. *Pervigilium Veneris*, latine incerti, graece Hugonis H. Johnson, B.A., e Coll. D. Io. Bapt. olim schol. ; Oxonii B. H. Blackwell. A translation into Greek verse in the metre of the original.

1909. *Pervigilium Veneris*, the Watch-night of Venus, translated into English verse, by W. H. Porter, Assistant Lecturer in Greek and Latin in the University of North Wales, Bangor : Dublin, Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd., publishers to the University [Brit. Mus. 11375. b. 42]. Contains an

⁵⁸ Published in the *Cronaca Bizantina*, vol. vi, No. 7, dated April 1, 1884 ; but there is no copy in the British Museum.

introductory note, the text as rearranged by J. W. Mackail, and a verse translation.

1910. *Pervigilium Veneris*: printed by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson at the Doves Press, 15 Upper Mall, Hammersmith, from the text as edited, rearranged, and supplemented by J. W. Mackail, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford [Brit. Mus. No. Tab. 501. a. 16]. Based on Mackail's article of 1888.

1911. *Pervigilium Veneris*: the Vigil of Venus; edited with facsimiles of the Codex Salmasianus and Codex Thuaneus, an introduction, translation, apparatus criticus, and explanatory notes by Cecil Clementi, M.A., late Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Hongkong: Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 50 and 51 Broad Street; London, Henry Frowde, Amen Corner [Brit. Mus. No. 11886. gg. 8].

1911. *Pervigilium Veneris*: Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, Londini et Novi Eboraci apud Henricum Frowde [Bodleian 2974. f. 1]. Mackail's text with a short introduction.

1911. *Pervigilium Veneris*: translated into English in the original metre by Elizabeth Hickman du Bois, Ph.D.; drawings by Dela P. Mussey: Elm Tree Press; Woodstock, Vermont [Brit. Mus. No. 11888. gg. 2].

1911. 'Brother Copas', a novel by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch; J. W. Arrow-smith, Ltd., 11 Quay Street, Bristol [Brit. Mus. 012618. cc. 8]. At pp. 238, 243-6, 320-2 verse translations of parts of the poem in English: afterwards embodied in the translation of the whole poem published in 1912 (*vide infra*).

1911. The Italian Poems of Milton and the *Pervigilium Veneris* translated by John Clark, Professor of English Literature at the South African College, Cape Town: Darton Bros. & Co., Cape Town; H. H. Taylor, printer, 50 Castle Street, Cape Town. At pp. 11-18 verse translation from the text of Bährens (see 1882).

1912. The Vigil of Venus and other poems by 'Q.' (Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch): Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36 Essex Street, W.C., London [Brit. Mus. No. 011650. f. 98].

1912. *Pervigilium Veneris*, translated by J. W. Mackail, Hon. LL.D., Edinburgh and St. Andrews, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University

of Oxford ; at pp. 848-68 of Catullus, Tibullus, and the *Pervigilium Veneris*: London, William Heinemann : New York, the Macmillan Co., 1912. A volume in the Loeb Classical Library edited by T. E. Page, M.A., and W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D. Contains a short prefatory note, the Latin text, and a translation in English prose (cf. the years 1888 and 1910 *supra*).

In conclusion it may be useful to note in chronological order a considerable number of works on the *Pervigilium Veneris*, to which I have found references, but of which apparently no copies exist in the British Museum or in the Bodleian Library. Their number is somewhat surprising.

1588. Ianus Dousa filius: coniectanea in Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium (Lugd. Bat.).

1613. Jo. Weitzius: separate edition of the *Pervigilium* (Francof.).

1618. Jo. Weitzius: Catalecta Poetarum veterum, Petronii editio Freloniana (Francof.).

1742. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, quibus adiectum est *Pervigilium Veneris* (Göttingen). This edition is by some attributed to I. M. Gesner.

1750. Translation in French verse by Blanchet de Pravieux (Paris).

1762. With Catullus, &c. (Göttingen).

1771. By Bernardo Trento (Treviso): see also Nuova Raccolta di operette italiane (Treviso, 1795).

1775. 'Dans la séance publique de l'acad. d'Amiens tenue au mois d'avril 1775, M. de Wailly lut une traduction en vers du *Pervigilium Veneris*, précédée d'une dissertation sur le véritable auteur de ce Poème. Cette dissertation, faite avec tout le goût d'une littérature exquise, annonce avantageusement la traduction, dans laquelle M. de Wailly a toujours égalé, quelque fois surpassé, les beautés de l'original, dont il a même eu souvent l'art de couvrir les défauts.' *Esprit des Journaux*, Sept. 1775 (from a MS. note at the back of the Brit. Mus. copy of Beauregard's edition of the *Pervigilium*: see the year 1792 *supra*).

1787. By Francesco Cassoli (Modena).

1794. With Latin elegiac poets, by C. G. Lenz (Brunswick).

1795. By N. N. (Floriano Caldani) at Padova.

1797. By Saverio de Rogati (nel Parnaso del Rubbi; Venezia).

1798. 'Catullus translated in English verse' (at pp. 188-207); *vide supra*.

1809. Chateaubriand, 'Les Martyrs': first edition (see under the year 1810 *supra*).

1810. With Catullus, &c. (Halle).

1812. French verse translation by Charles Louis Mollevaut.

1812. Incerti auctoris Pervigilium Veneris, commentario perpetuo illustratum, prooemio et lectionis varietate instructum. Dissertatio philologica, quam, consentiente amplissimo philosophorum ordine pro facultate legendi die XXI Martii 1812, publice defendet Ernestus Conr. Fridericus Schulze, doctor philosophicae; Gottingae, typis I. C. Baier, typogr. Acad.

1816. 'Die Nachtfeier der Venus, lateinisch u. deutsch mit Anmerkungen' by Ernst Anton Ludwig Moebius (Soest).

1825. Text with Danish translation by Simon Sørensen Meisling (Copenhagen).

1829. Examina Gymnasii Cliviensis VI et VII ante Idus Septembres 1829 publice indicit Fridericus Antonius Rigler, scholae director. Insunt annotationes maximam partem criticae in poetas Latinos, qui minores vocantur: Appendix syllogen continens animadversionum in librum Manethonis Apotelesm. secundum: denique annales scholae: Cliviae, ex officina Kochiana. (Contains the notes of Rigler and of Carl August Moritz Axt on the *Pervigilium*.)

1830. Hermann Paldamus 'in scriptione invitatoria ad examen solemne Gryphiswaldiae': Greifswaldischer Schulprogramm von Michaelis 1830 (Greifsw.).

1832. G. Bernhardy (Berlin. Jahrb. Juli 1832) in a review of Orelli's *Phaedrus* propounds the theory that the *Pervigilium* is a translation from a Greek original.

1839. Pervig. Ven. c. lect. var. ed. Heinrich Carl Abraham Eichstaedt (Jena).

1859. Viro summo Friderico Theophilo Welcker diem sollemnem XVI m. Octobris gratulatur Theodorus Bergk: inest commentatio de Pervigilio Veneris: Halae (formis Hendeliis); 22 pages in all. Lucian Müller (*supra*, year 1861) says that this pamphlet, so far as he knows, 'nicht in den Buchhandel gekommen ist.'

1863. By Giuseppe Raffaelli (nella strenna della Gioventù ; Firenze).
 1867. By O. Jacobi (London).
 1871. By Ugo Antonio Amico (Palermo) ; 16 pp.
 1871. By Giosuè Carducci at p. 125 of his *Canto di Primavera* in his poetical works (Firenze, Barbèra).
 1884. By Anton Giulio Barrili in 'Cronaca Bizantina, vol. vi, N. 7, 1st April 1884.'
 1901. Verse translation by Laurence Hayward.

To the above list I may add that Danchet in his opera *Aréthuse* appears to have translated into French verse the refrain of the *Pervigilium* ; that there are French translations by Pezay (? Alexandre Frédéric Jacques Masson, Marquis de Pezay) and by Le Noble (? Eustache le Noble de Tenniferie, Baron de Saint-George) ; that the emendation *detinenda* in line 46 is attributed to Heinsius, and the emendation *sume uestem* in line 52 to Crusius. I have not, however, as yet been able to verify these references ; and I should be grateful to any scholar who can assist me to find the works in question.

II

Mine is the fifth attempt which has been made to find strophic correspondence in the *Pervigilium Veneris*. The first was that of F. C. Göbbel in 1858, the second that of F. Bücheler in 1859, the third that of T. Bergk⁵⁹ in October of the same year, and the fourth that of J. W. Mackail in 1888.⁶⁰ The following is a summarized comparison of these five rearrangements, the lines being numbered throughout as in the Codex Salmasianus :—

⁵⁹ Bergk's work is known to me only through the criticism of it by Lucian Müller in 1861 ; the work itself appears not to have been issued to the book trade.

⁶⁰ For Mackail's work on the *Pervigilium*, see bibliography under the years 1888, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912.

PERVIGILIUM VENERIS

<i>Clementi.</i>		<i>Göbbel.</i>		<i>Bücheler.</i>	
[1 Refrain]		1 Refrain		1 Refrain	
2-7	6	2-7	6	2-7	6
8 Refrain	—	8 Refrain	—	8 Refrain	—
59-62	4	18-17, 19, 18	7	59-61, [62], 9-11	6
<Refrain>	—	<Refrain>	—	12 Refrain	—
9-11, 68-67	8	20-21, 28-24, 22, 25-26	7	68-67	5
68 Refrain	—	27 Refrain	—	68 Refrain	—
18-18	6	28, 31, 29-30, 32-35	8	69-71, [72], 73-74	5
<Refrain>	—	36 Refrain	—	75 Refrain	—
19-26	8	37-39, 58, 40-47	12	76-79	4
27 Refrain	—	48 Refrain	—	80 Refrain	—
28-35	8	49-56	8	18-16	4
36 Refrain	—	57 Refrain	—	<Refrain>	—
37-39, 58	4	59-62, 9-11, 68-67	12	17-21	5
<Refrain>	—	68 Refrain	—	<Refrain>	—
40-47	8	69-74	6	22-26	5
48 Refrain	—	75 Refrain	—	27 Refrain	—
49-56	8	76-79	4	28-35	8
57 Refrain	—	80 Refrain	—	36 Refrain	—
69-70, 73-74,	6	81-88	8	37-39, 58, 40-47	12
71-72	—	<Refrain>	—	48 Refrain	—
75 Refrain	—	89-92	4	49-56	8
76-79	4	98 Refrain	—	57 Refrain	—
80 Refrain	—			81-92	12
81-88	8			98 Refrain	—
<Refrain>	—				
89-92	4				
98 Refrain	—				

Bergk.

1 Refrain	
2-7	6
8 Refrain	—
lacuna, 9-11	3 + (?) 8 = 11
12 Refrain	
lacuna, 58-67	10 + (?) 1 = 11
68 Refrain	
69-73, lacuna, 74	6 + (?) 1 = 7
75 Refrain	
76-79, lacuna	4 + (?) 8 = 7
80 Refrain	
18-26	14
27 Refrain	
37, lacuna, 38-47	11 + (?) 3 = 14
48 Refrain	
49-56	8
57 Refrain	
28-35	8
36 Refrain	—
81-92	12
93 Refrain	

Mackail.

1-4	4
<Refrain>	
5, 6, lacuna, 7	3 + 1 = 4
8 Refrain	
59, 9-11	4
12 Refrain	
18-16	4
<Refrain>	
17-21	4
<Refrain>	
19, lacuna, 22	2 + 2 = 4
<Refrain>	
23-26	4
27 Refrain	
28-31	4
<Refrain>	
32-35	4
36 Refrain	
37-39, 58	4
<Refrain>	
40-48	4
<Refrain>	
44-47	4
48 Refrain	
49-52	4
<Refrain>	
53-56	4
57 Refrain	
60-62, lacuna	3 + 1 = 4
<Refrain>	
63-64, 69, 72	4
<Refrain>	
66, 65, lacuna, 67	3 + 1 = 4
68 Refrain	
70-71, 73-74	4
75 Refrain	
76-79	4
80 Refrain	
81-84	4
<Refrain>	
85-88	4
<Refrain>	
89-92	4
93 Refrain	

A glance will show that the rearrangements by Göbbel, Bergk, and Bücheler are far less symmetrical than mine, and that the simplest strophic system is the one proposed by Professor Mackail, who shapes the poem into 22 stanzas of four lines each. Transposition has been forced on all five editors by the impossibility of explaining *tunc* in line 9. Moreover, four editors (Mackail being the exception) agree that it is not possible to allow lines 63 sqq. to stand in the place assigned to them by the codices, the difficulty of explaining *ipsa* in line 63 being otherwise insurmountable. Göbbel, Bücheler, and I agree in grouping together lines 59-62, 9-11, and 63-7; but Göbbel places them as his seventh stanza, whereas in Bücheler's rearrangement and mine they occupy the second and third stanzas. Finally four editors (Bergk being this time the exception) transpose line 58 to follow line 39, and Bergk himself avoids transposition only by supposing a lacuna before line 58.

My rearrangement only postulates transposition in these three places, and the insertion of the refrain four times. I think, therefore, I may fairly claim that it is not only symmetrical in form and in thought, but also that it resorts to transposition only where the sequence of lines in MSS. is unintelligible. I may add that I stumbled quite accidentally upon my strophic reconstruction, when, as the result of much study, I was satisfied that the best place for lines 59-62 was after line 8, for lines 63-7 after line 11, and for line 58 after line 39. Having written out the poem in this order, I suddenly saw in it the outline of strophic and antistrophic correspondence, and realized that the insertion of the refrain four times (after lines 18, 58, 62, and 88) would complete the design. It should be noticed that both Göbbel and Mackail agree with me in inserting the refrain after line 88; Mackail also inserts it (as I have done) after lines 58 and 62, and Göbbel after line 18.

With regard to the other four strophic rearrangements, of which Mackail's is the most interesting, I would only remark that—

(a) Göbbel, in order to obtain second and third stanzas of 7 lines each, is obliged to invert the order of lines 18 and 19. No other editor has done this and such transposition is not required by the meaning. Göbbel inserts the refrain twice and makes several minor transpositions which are not dependent

on his strophic rearrangement; but the main objection to his scheme is that the strophic correspondence achieved is very confused and unsymmetrical.

(b) Bergk supposes five lacunae of 16 lines in all, makes numerous transpositions which are not forced upon him by difficulties of interpretation, and even so produces a poem of most ungainly structure.

(c) Bücheler, without sufficient reason, rejects two lines (62 and 72) and transposes unnecessarily the whole passage 63-80 to precede line 13. He inserts the refrain twice (after lines 16 and 21) in places where it seems to be inappropriate. The resulting structure is not very symmetrical, though less disjointed than the rearrangements by Göbbel and Bergk.

(d) I have stated at length in pp. x-xv of the preface to my edition of the *Pervigilium* the reasons which led me to dissent from Professor Mackail's rearrangement. I would only add that it is difficult to understand how an arrangement in short 4-line stanzas, divided by the refrain, could have been so hopelessly obliterated that only one such stanza is preserved by the MSS. The strikingly symmetrical character of the structure would (I am inclined to think) have forced itself upon the attention of copyists and thereby have caused its preservation.

III

For the sake of completeness I add a note in tabular form on eleven other editions of the *Pervigilium* which, although they do not rearrange the poem strophically, yet postulate certain transpositions of its lines. The editions selected are those of A. Rivinus in 1644, N. E. Sanadon in 1728, J. Bouhier in 1737, F. Noel in 1803, G. H. Heidtmann in 1842, the anonymous Leipzig edition of 1852, O. Müller in 1855, A. Riese in 1869, E. Bährens in 1882, G. Piazza in 1889, and S. G. Owen in 1893.

PERVIGILIUM VENERIS

<i>Rivinus.</i>	<i>Sanadon.</i>	<i>J. Bouhier.</i>	<i>F. Noël.</i>	<i>G. H. Heidtmann.</i>
[1 Refrain]	1 Refrain	A. <i>Pervigilium</i>	1 Refrain	1 Refrain
2-4 3	2-7 6	<i>Primum</i>	2-7 6	2-7 6
<Refrain>	8 Refrain	1 Refrain	8 Refrain	8 Refrain
5-7 3	9-11 3	58-62 5	9-11 3	18-26 14
8 Refrain	12 Refrain	<Refrain>	12 Refrain	27 Refrain
9-11 3	18-16, [17-21], 22-23, [24-26] 6	76-79 4	18-18, 20-21 3	28-35 8
12 Refrain	27 Refrain	80 Refrain	<Refrain>	36 Refrain
28-24, 13	28-35 8	68-67 5	22-26, 19 6	37-47 11
<Refrain>	36 Refrain	68 Refrain	27 Refrain	48 Refrain
14-16 3	37-47 11	69-74 6	28-35 8	49-56 8
<Refrain>	48 Refrain	75 Refrain	36 Refrain	57 Refrain
17-18, 58	49-56 8	B. <i>Pervigilium</i>	37-44 8	lacuna, 58-62, 9-11, 13(?)
<Refrain>	57 Refrain	<i>Secundum</i>	<Refrain>	63-7
19-21 3	58-67 10	<Refrain>	45-47 3	68 Refrain
<Refrain>	68 Refrain	2-4, 9-11 6	48 Refrain	69-74 6
22, 25-26	69-74 6	8 Refrain	49-56 8	75 Refrain
27 Refrain	75 Refrain	5-7, 13, 22, 14-18, 20-21, 25-26 } 14	57 Refrain	76-79 4
28-31 4	76-79 4	27 Refrain	58-67 10	80 Refrain
<Refrain>	80 Refrain	19, 23-24 3	68 Refrain	81-92 12
32-35 4	81-92 12	<Refrain>	69-74 6	93 Refrain
36 Refrain	93 Refrain	28-35 8	75 Refrain	
37-39, [40], 41 4		36 Refrain	76-79 4	
42-44 3		37-47 11	80 Refrain	
<Refrain>		48 Refrain	82, 81, 83, 85, 84, 86-92 } 12	
45-47 3		49-56 8	92	
48 Refrain		57 Refrain	93 Refrain	
49, 51-2 3		81, 83, 82, 85, 84, 86-90, [91-92] } 10		
<Refrain>		93 Refrain		
50, 53-56 5				
57 Refrain				
59-62 4				
<Refrain>				
63-67 5				
68 Refrain				
69-71 3				
<Refrain>				
72-74 3				
75 Refrain				
76-79 4				
80 Refrain				
82, 81, 83 3				
<Refrain>				
84-88 5				
<Refrain>				
89-92 4				
93 Refrain				
23 stanzas: 104 lines in all.	10 stanzas: 85 lines in all.	Part I: 4 stanzas: 25 lines in all. Part II: 7 stanzas: 68 lines in all.	12 stanzas: 95 lines in all.	9 stanzas: 92 (?) lines in all. Refrain line 12 excised.

<i>Leipzig edition of 1852.</i>	<i>O. Müller.</i>	<i>A. Riese.</i>	<i>E. Bährens.</i>	<i>G. Piassa.</i>	<i>S. G. Owen.</i>
1 Refrain	1 Refrain	1 Refrain	1 Refrain	[1 Refrain]	1 Refrain
2-7 6	2-7 6	2-4, 58, 5-7 7	2-7 6	2-7 6	2-7 6
8 Refrain	8 Refrain	8 Refrain	8 Refrain	8 Refrain	8 Refrain
18-17, 19, } 18, 20-21, } 28-24, 22, } 25-26 } 14	59-62, 9-11 7 12 Refrain 18-26 14	18-16, 18, } 17, 19-26 } 14 27 Refrain	28, 31-33, } 29-30, 84- } 8 85	59-61, [62], } 9-11 } 6 12 Refrain	9-11 3 12 Refrain 18-26 14
27 Refrain	27 Refrain	28, 31, 29, } 30, 32-35 } 8	36 Refrain	68-67 5	27 Refrain
28, 31, 29- } 30, 32-35, } 9 56	28-35 8	36 Refrain	37-47 11	68 Refrain	28-35 8
36 Refrain	36 Refrain	lacuna, } 12(?) 37-47 }	49-56 8	69-74 6	36 Refrain
37-39, 58, } 40-47 }	37-39, 58, } 12 40-47 }	lacuna, } 12(?) 37-47 }	57 Refrain	75 Refrain	37-39, 58 } 12 40-47 }
48 Refrain	48 Refrain	48 Refrain	58, lacu- } na, 59- } 9(?) 62, 9-11 }	76-79 4	48 Refrain
49-55 7	49-56 8	49-56 8	12 Refrain	80 Refrain	18-21 9
57 Refrain	57 Refrain	57 Refrain	18-26 14	<Refrain>	22-26 5
59-62, 9- } 11, 68-67 } 12	68-67 5	59-62, 9-11 7	27 Refrain	27 Refrain	28-35 8
68 Refrain	69-74 6	12 Refrain	68-67 5	36 Refrain	37-39, 58, } 12 40-47 }
69-74 6	75 Refrain	68-67 5	68 Refrain	48 Refrain	76-79 4
75 Refrain	76-79 4	69-71, 74, } 78 (2nd } half, 72, } 7 78 (1st } half) }	69-70, 78- } 74, 71-72 } 6	49-56 8	80 Refrain
76-79 4	80 Refrain	75 Refrain	76-79 4	57 Refrain	81-92 12
80 Refrain	81-92 12	76-79 4	80 Refrain	81-92 12	98 Refrain
81-92 12	98 Refrain	80 Refrain	81-83, 85, } 84, 86-92 } 12	98 Refrain	
98 Refrain		81-83, } lacuna, } 13(?) 84-92 }	98 Refrain		
		98 Refrain			
9 stanzas : 92 lines in all.	10 stanzas : 98 lines in all.	10 stanzas : 96 (?) lines in all.	10 stanzas : 94 (?) lines in all.	11 stanzas : 92 lines in all.	10 stanzas : 98 lines in all.
Refrain line 12 excised.					

There could be no better illustration of the difficulty of the problems presented by the *Pervigilium Veneris* than the diversity of suggested rearrangements shown in the above table, varying from that of S. G. Owen, who contents himself with transposing line 58 and altering the order of lines in the eighth stanza, to the attempt of J. Bouhier to divide the poem into two separate parts, composed as he thinks at different epochs. Detailed comment on each of the conjectured reconstructions of the *Pervigilium* is not, I think, required.

IV

Almost as numerous and diverse as the proposed rearrangements of the poem have been the attempts to designate its date and authorship. A summary of the principal suggestions made will not perhaps be without interest, and they may conveniently be grouped under four headings, viz. those professing to find a clue to the authorship in the MSS. ; those which find traces of the date of the poem in its text ; and those which would date the poem either from apparent imitations in other writers, or lastly from internal evidence afforded by its style.

(i) The MSS. really give little help. The heading in S. *incipit per Virgilium Veneris* and the note appended in T. *explicit per Virgilium Veneris* are obvious blunders by ignorant copyists, who may have thought that Virgil was the author, but whose opinions on such a point are entirely worthless. Manuzio and Erasmus had apparently seen a MS. (since lost) in which the *Pervigilium* was ascribed to a Catullus, whom they believed to be Caius Valerius Catullus Veronensis, whereas Scaliger tentatively suggested that Catullus Urbicarius Mimographus⁶¹ was meant. The former lived from 87 to 54 B.C., and the latter should probably be assigned to the period A.D. 37-68. Erasmus, however, seems to have doubted whether his MS. was correct in ascribing the poem to Catullus ; and indeed the style of the *Pervigilium*, which plainly does not belong to the classical period, precludes a date in the first century either before or after Christ. This fact is fatal

⁶¹ Juvenal viii. 186 *clamosum ageres ut phasma Catulli* ; Juvenal xiii. 111 *urbani qualem fugitiosus scurra Catulli* ; Martial v. 80. 8 *facundi scena Catulli* ; Tertull. adv. Valentin. 14 *nullum Catulli Laureolum fuerit exercitata*. See Teuffel and Schwabe § 285, 1.

also to the suggestion made by Von Barth that Lucius Annaeus Seneca, who lived A.D. 37-65, wrote the *Pervigilium*; and I have endeavoured to show how Von Barth may have misread the inscription in the (now non-extant) *Codex Martispurgica*. Gustav Sarpe in 1819 suggested that the Seneca in question was, not L. Annaeus Seneca, but a certain Thomas Seneca Camera, who lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D.⁶³ But this conjecture is negated by the fact that the *Codex Salmasianus* cannot be dated later than the eighth century A.D. More recently, in 1855, Otto Müller endeavoured to prove that Publius Annii Florus, who lived in the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117-38) wrote the *Pervigilium* as well as the lines headed *Flori* (T has *Floridi*) *de qualitate vitae*, which are contained in S and T. His argument is ingenious, but unconvincing. Arguing on somewhat similar lines Schrijver had suggested that Luxorius, a poet who lived in Africa under the Vandal king Thrasamund (A.D. 496-528), and whose writings are contained in S and T, was probably the author of the *Pervigilium*.

(ii) The arguments derived from the text are based upon two passages, viz. (a) line 90 *Quando fiam uti chelidon ut tacere desinam*, and (b) line 74 *Romoli matrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem*.

(a) Wernsdorf has drawn attention to an epitaph, included by Gruter in his *Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 1114, n. 8, which reads as follows:—

L. VIBIVS. AVG. LIB. FLORVS. FECIT.
VIBIAE. CHELIDONI. CONIVGI. SVAE.
CARISSIMAE. B. M. ET. SIBI. &c.

From this inscription he argues that the *Pervigilium* was written by Vibius Florus in collaboration with his wife Vibia Chelidon, and that in line 90 of

⁶³ Sarpe (see year 1819 of bibliography) writes:—‘*Illud autem procerum carmen: cras amet, qui numquam amavit, cet., cuius fragmentum codex Martisburgensis adscribit Senecae (vid. Barth. ad Claudian. p. 147 ed. pr. et adversa. xvi. 6 et xlii. 7) referendum erit, exceptis tamen primis versibus, numero xxii, ad Thomam Senecam Camertem. Quem virum seculo p. Chr. xv ineunte vixisse, egregie demonstrat, quo ornamentum in hac academia litterae nostrae nunquam viderunt praestantius, Immanuel G. Huschkus in praef. ad Tibull. p. 15.—De isto pervigilio Veneris ita sentienti non irascentur Manes Buherii et Sanadonia.*’

the poem Vibius pays a compliment to his wife at his own expense—‘When shall I be as talkative as my wife?!’ But apart from the outrage on taste, nothing is known of any poet called Vibius Florus.

(b) Two theories have been based on line 74; the first involves amendment of the text, and the second does not.

a. Lips proposed to read :—*proque prole posterum*

Romoli, patrem [both MSS. have *matrem*] *crearet et nepotem Caesarem* :

and he commented:—‘*Pater Caesar, Divus Iulius est; nepos, Augustus.*’ He then attributed the work to the end of the reign of Augustus. But, in the first place, the style of the poem precludes so early a date; and, in the second place, it by no means follows that a poem, in which such passing mention is made of Julius Caesar and Augustus, must have been composed during the lifetime of the latter.

β. An anonymous German scholar writing in 1872 over the initials ‘G. F.’ proposes to retain line 74 unaltered and refers the words *Romoli matrem* ‘auf die mit dem Griechen Orestes vermählte, aber aus italischer familie stammende mutter des Romulus Augustulus und dessen vorgänger Julius Nepos. Sonach wäre das gedicht im märz 476 verfasst, als Romulus eben auf den thron erhoben war, während der aus Ravenna entflohene, vom byzantinischen hofe noch als rechtmässiger kaiser betrachtete Nepos in seinem fürstentum Dalmatien lebte. Bezeichnend für eine zeit, wo der weströmische thron binnen 22 jahren von 9 kaisern besetzt war, trägt der dichter beiden parteien rechnung. Dasz die Veneralia damals wirklich gefeiert worden seien, ist wohl nicht anzunehmen: bestanden auch damals noch heidnische gebräuche, wie zb. die erst 20 jahre später von pabst Gelasius abgeschafften Lupercalia, so spricht doch schon der umstand, dasz der dichter ein solches fest gar nicht erwähnt, sondern die feier als eine in ausschliesslich göttlichem kreise vor sich gehende darstellt, für die annahme einer poetischen fiction, wie ja auch der gleichzeitige Sidonius Apollinaris die heidnische mythologie zur verzierung seiner gedichte benutzte. Dasz das *Pervigilium* wenigstens keine festode war, sondern rein subjectiver gefühlsausdruck, geht aus den schlussversen deutlich hervor.’ This is a most ingenious conjecture, for it

assigns a good meaning to lines 71-5 as they stand in the MSS.⁶⁸ Otherwise the sequence of thought in that passage is very confused.

I may add that I have dealt at pp. 44-6 of my edition with such chronological evidence as can be extracted from the mention of Hybla in the *Pervigilium*.

(iii) In 1606 Wouwer pointed out that lines 19-20 of the *Pervigilium*, which read:—

En ! pudorem florulentae prodiderunt purpurae.
Humor ille, quem serenae astra rorant noctibus,
Mane, &c.,

are very similar to a passage in Fulgentius (*Mitologiarum* I. 11 ; St. p. 605):—

Ubi guttas florulentae
Mane rorat purpurae
Umor algens, quem serenae
Astra sudant noctibus.

Fabius Planciades Fulgentius lived in Africa about A.D. 480-550 ; and it is evident that either he copied from the author of the *Pervigilium*, or the latter from the former, or both from some third source. The last supposition is highly improbable ; and, if we agree with 'G. F.' that the *Pervigilium* was written in A.D. 476, it is clear that Fulgentius would be the imitator.

Other palpable similarities with previous authors are, first, the imitation in lines 59-62 of Virgil's *Georgics* ii. 324 sqq. ; next, the close parallel of the whole poem with Ovid's *Fasti* iv. 1-162, to which I drew attention in pp. 13-15 of my edition of the *Pervigilium* ; and finally the resemblance between line 13 of the *Pervigilium* :—

Ipsa gemmis purpurantem pingit annum floridis :

and Appuleius, *Met.* x. 29 (Oudendorp, p. 784) :—'Plane tenui specula solabor clades ultimas, quod uer in ipso ortu iam gemmulis floridis cuncta depingeret et iam purpureo nitore prata uestiret et commodum dirrupto spineo tegmine spirantes cinnameos odores promicarent rosae, quae me priori meo Lucio redderent.' L. Appuleius of Madaura in Africa lived in the times of Antoninus

⁶⁸ A somewhat similar theory has been advanced by L. Raquetius in the *Classical Review* of 1905 and commented on by J. B. Bury (*vide supra*).



Pius and Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 188–80); but no definite conclusion can be drawn from the above-mentioned similarities between the *Pervigilium* and other works, whether classical or non-classical.

(iv) The argument from style I have dealt with at pp. 15–17 of my edition of the *Pervigilium*, and I will only add here for the sake of completeness that Claude de Saumaise believed, for reasons of style and diction, that the poem was written in the time of C. Julius Solinus, i.e. between A.D. 258–305; and that Bouhier, who (as has been seen) divides the *Pervigilium* into two separate poems, says of his *Pervigilium Primum*:—‘On reconnoît en ces vers, ce me semble, cette élégante et majestueuse simplicité, qui fait le caractère du Siècle des premiers Césars, et qui me fait croire que ce pourroit bien être une production de leurs tems.’ Of his *Pervigilium Secundum* he says:—‘La seule chose qu’on puisse assurer, c’est que ce petit Poème est fort postérieur au premier. S’il falloit prendre parti entre les différens sentimens sur son Auteur, je pencherois assez à croire que c’est le Poète Florus, qui vivoit du tems de l’Empereur Hadrian.’ Bouhier claims for his conjectural division of the *Pervigilium* into two poems the support of ‘le R. P. Fr. Oudin, en sa Dissert. sur le *Culex* de Virgile, insérée en la continuation des Mém. de Littérature, Tom. VII, p. 312’; but I have not been able to verify this reference, and I remain after much thought still doubtful as to the date and authorship of the poem, although inclining to the belief that it belongs to the fifth century A.D.

V. COLLATION OF SYMBOLS AND ERRORS IN S AND T.

i. Symbols used both in S and T.

- = m S 1. nūquā = numquam; S 52 cāpus = campus; T 24 flāmis = flammis; T 59 annū = annum.
 ; (1) = us S 20 noctib; = noctibus; S 60 nubib; = nubibus; T 51 cāp; = campus; T 57 florib; = floribus.
 (2) = ue S 8, 12, 27, 36 quiq; = quique; S 67 iussitq; = iussitque; T 24 deq; = deque; T 62 atq; = atque.
 p = per S 65 pq; = perque; S 85 pstrepunt = perstrepunt; T 42 p = per; T 80 sup = super; T 91 pdidit = perdidit.



ę = ae S 22 roseq = rosae; S 18 pꝛeꝑs = pꝛaeꝑs; T 53 queq; = quaeque;
S 52 puellę = puellae.

ii. *Symbols used in S only.*

÷ = st S 34 ð = est; S 29 potð = potest.
.. (deletion mark) S 88 querissororę = queri sororem.

iii. *Symbols used in T only.*

- (1) = en T 34 tañ = tamen; T 21 uñti = umentis; T 16 tuñtis = tumentis.
(2) = ne T 54 oñs = omnes.
(3) = er T 59 pañ = pater; T 5 and 43 inñ = inter.
(4) = unt T 49 adsedeñ = adsederunt.
(5) = co T 17 cadu = caduco.
(6) = irit T 62 spu = spiritu.
; = uaeque T 53 q; = quaeque.
p = par T 77 pturiret = parturiret.
÷ = est T 51; also ð = est T 2, 31, 32, 35 (twice), 45.
' = ui T 92 q' = qui; T 27 q'q; = quique.
' = us T 9 pont' = pontus; T 88 tacem' = tacemus.
C (1) = ro T 19 pdiderunt = prodiderunt; T 63 pcreatrix = procreatrix;
T 72 pq; = proque.
(2) = uam T 47, 79, 92 nuq = numquam.
‡ = uel T 52.
÷ = c T 90 nę = nec.
~ occurs once T 61 mñtus = (?) mixtus.
& = et T 72; also T 1 (twice) am& = amet; T 58 a&her = aether;
T 73 crear& & = crearet et; T 81 ten&ur = tenetur.

iv. *Mistakes common to S and T.*

A. *Letters confused.* e for i: S 7 sublime for sublimi; S 92 perdidit for perdidit; T 4 resolu& for resoluit; T 62 pmeante for permeanti. In S 50 adsederunt and in T 49 adsedeñ stand for adsidebunt; T 17 mecanat for micant; T 57 uergentes for uirentes. i for e: S 6 uirentis for uirentes;

S 36 *amit for amet*; S 41 *uellit for uellet*; S 83 *gregis for greges*; S 89 *uir for uer*; T 14 *surgentis for surgentes*; S 16 *tumtis for umentes*; T 29 *comis for comes*; T 40 *dicer& for deceret*. In line 29 both S and T read *et for it*; and in S 62 and T 61 *omnis stands for omnes*. i for u: S 59 *nuptias for nuptias*; T 50 *annis for annus*. o for u: S 19 *purpure for purpureae*; S 24 *purporis for purpuris*; S 32 *nudos for nudus*; S 51 *annos for annus*; S 54 *locus for lucos*; S 59 *copolauit for copulauit*; S 86 *popoli for populi*; T 28 *loco for luco*; T 33 *neo for neu*; T 53 *locos for lucos*; S 64 *gubernat for gubernat*. In S 74 and T 73 *romoli stands for Romuli*. u for o: S 18 *urbe for orbe*; S 42 *chorus for choro*; S 51 *totus for toto*; S 54 *loeus for lucos*; T 71 *Rumuleas for Romuleas*; T 81 *cumiugali for coniugali*. i for y: S 6 *mirteo for myrteo*; S 31 *nimfe for nymphae*; S 51 and 52 and T 50 and 51 *hibla for Hybla*; S 28 and T 28 *nimfas for nymphas*; S 85 *quinni and T 84 cigni for cygni*. o for c: S 58 *duoad for ducat*; T 9 *tuno for tunc*. b for u: S 1 *amabit for amauit*; S 14 and T 14 *faboni for fauoni*. d for t: S 58 *duoad for ducat*; S 63 *adq; for atque*; T 16 *relinquid for relinquit*; T 39 *incruidum for incruentum*. g for c: S 6 *gaza and T 6 gazas for casas*; S 58 and T 57 *rigentibus for recentibus*; S 79 *deligatis for delicatis*. r for b: S 50 and T 49 *adsederunt for adsidebunt*. f for ph: S 91 and T 90 *foebus for Phoebus*; S 28 and T 28 *nimfas for nymphas*. e for e (ae): S 10 and T 10 *cerulas for caeruleas*; S 33 and T 33 *lederet for laederet*; S 59 *ether for aether*; T 22 *rose for rosae*. s for r: S 73 *samnes for Ramnes*; T 43 *mysteas for myrteas*. z for s: S 6 *gaza and T 6 gazas for casas*. qu for c: S 85 *quinni for cygni*; T 9 *quiore for cruore*.

B. *Letters wrongly omitted*. m: S 19 *pudore for pudorem*; T 11 *dione for Dionem*. n: S 92 and T 91 *taceret for tacerent*; T 72 *rames for Ramnes*. s: S 6 *gaza for casas*; S 39 *tragib; for stragibus* (haplographic error); S 44 *myrteo for myrteas*; S 49 *hyblei for hyblaeis*; S 58 *umbra for umbras*; S 70 *ipa for ipsa*; S 77 *natu for natus*; T 21 *papilla for papillas* (haplographic error); T 23 *oculis for osculis*; T latino for latinos. c: S 64 and T 63 *ocultis for occultis*. a: S 17 *micanat and T 17 mecanat for micant*. t: S 18 *sustine for sustinet*; T 81 *tuus for tutus*. h: S 7 and T 7 *trono*

for throno; T 48 ybleis *for* Hyblaeis; T 41 h *in* choros *inserted by* *afterthought*; S 45 baccus *and* T 44 baccas *for* Bacchus.

C. *Letters wrongly inserted.* n: S 31 inte *for* ite; T 8 quinq; *for* quique; T 85 adsonant *for* adsonat. r: S (in title) and T (in postscript) peruirgilium *for* perugilium; T 62 uernas *for* uenas. t: S 16 tumentis *and* T 16 tumtis *for* umentes (dittographic error): S 51 fundat *for* funde; S 21 tumentis *for* umentis (dittographic error); T 23 detq; *for* deque; T 60 alma& *for* almas; S 62 alteret *for* aleret; T 89 tacer& *for* tacere.

D. *Other miscellaneous errors.* S 17 and T 17 et; *probably* en *is* the correct reading. S 19 and T 19 in; *probably* en *is* the correct reading. S 23 and T 23 prius; *a proper name, perhaps* Paphies, *is* the correct reading. S 35 and T 35 inermis; *probably* in armis *is* the correct reading. S 42 and T 41 feriat; *probably* feriantes *is* the correct reading. S 50 and T 49 presens; *probably* praeses *is* the correct reading. S 54 que *and* T 53 q; *for* quaeque; *also* montes (*from* S 53 montiu *and* T 52 montium) *for* fontes. S 62 fletus *and* T 61 fletus *for* fetus. S 81 and T 80 super . . . explicat aonii *for* subter . . . explicat tauri. S 90 ut celidon *and* T 89 ut celidon *for* uti celidon.

v. *Mistakes peculiar to S.*

A. *Letters confused.* o *for* as: 44 myrteo *for* myrteas. b *for* n: 9 superbo *for* superno. c *for* g: 46 peruiclanda *for* peruglanda. n *for* g: 85 quinni *for* cygni. e *for* (1) e: 62 fletus *for* fetus; 90 celidon *for* celidon; (2) oe: 82 federe *for* foedere. as *for* ae: 17 lacrimas *for* lacrimae.

B. *Letters wrongly inserted.* m: 38 unam *for* una; 65 quem (twice) *for* que; 78 sinu *for* sinu. s: (1) dittographic, 7 fultas *for* multa; 35 sidem *for* idem; 87 mussico *for* musico; 88 queris *for* queri; (2) non-dittographic, 15 and 72 ipsas *for* ipsa. l: 55 adtullit *for* adtulit.

C. *Other miscellaneous errors.* 32 e *for* est. 45 poteart *for* postarum. 51 the word *flores* *is* entirely omitted. 64 procreatis *for* procreatrix. 66 tendere *for* tenorem. 89 quan *for* quando.

vi. *Mistakes peculiar to T.*

A. *Letters confused.* a *for* (1) i: 13 gemmas *for* gemmis; 14 spāritu *for*

spiritu ; 54 alitas *for* alitis ; (2) u : 44 baccas and deas *for* Bacchus and deus ;
 (3) e : 75 facundat *for* fecundat ; 86 putas *for* putes. u *for* (1) a : 17 lucrime
for lacrimae ; (2) b : 9 glouo *for* globo ; 10 uipedes *for* bipedes ; 71 saumis *for*
 Sabinis ; 82 ualantu *for* balantum. e *for* (1) a : 88 canores *for* canoras ;
 (2) u : nubent *for* nubunt ; 5 amorem *for* amorum ; (8) oe : 81 federe *for*
 foedere. e *for* a : 85 puellq *for* puella. i *for* r : 9 quiuore *for* cruore.
 uc *for* o : 9 superhuc *for* superno. us *for* ac : 23 fusta *for* facta. c *for*
 (1) d : 50 quicquid *for* quidquid ; (2) s : 66 nosce *for* nosse. d *for* (1) n :
 82 durus *for* nudus ; (2) cl : 91 amidas *for* Amyclas. h *for* n : 9 superhuc
for superno. ll *for* d : 55 nullo *for* nudo. m *for* (1) n : 81 cumiugali
for coniugali ; (2) in : 71 saumis *for* Sabinis. n *for* (1) m : 4 conam *for*
 comam ; 39 nenus *for* nemus ; 90 musan *for* musam ; (2) bi : 26 pudent *for*
 pudebit. nx *for* ra : 20 astnx *for* astra. p *for* b : 85 supter *for* subter.
 r *for* d : 82 durus *for* nudus. t *for* r : 55 amoti *for* amori.

B. *Letter wrongly omitted.* r : 38 acu *for* arcu.

C. *Letters wrongly inserted.* c : 68 neepotes *for* nepotes. d : 33 digne
for igne (dittographic). u : 15 urgu& *for* urget. g : 57 uergentes *for*
 uirentes.

D. *Other miscellaneous errors.* 1 *cras* misplaced in the line. The line
 S 40 entirely omitted. 9 *de* inserted ; perhaps dittographic from pre-
 ceding *re*. 3 amarores *for* amores. 36 qui *for* quique. 22 ip *for*
 ipsa. 60 fluctus *for* fluxit. 79 amat *for* amauit. 82 gregu *for*
 greges. 87 Eet *for* et. 89 faciam *for* fiam.

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